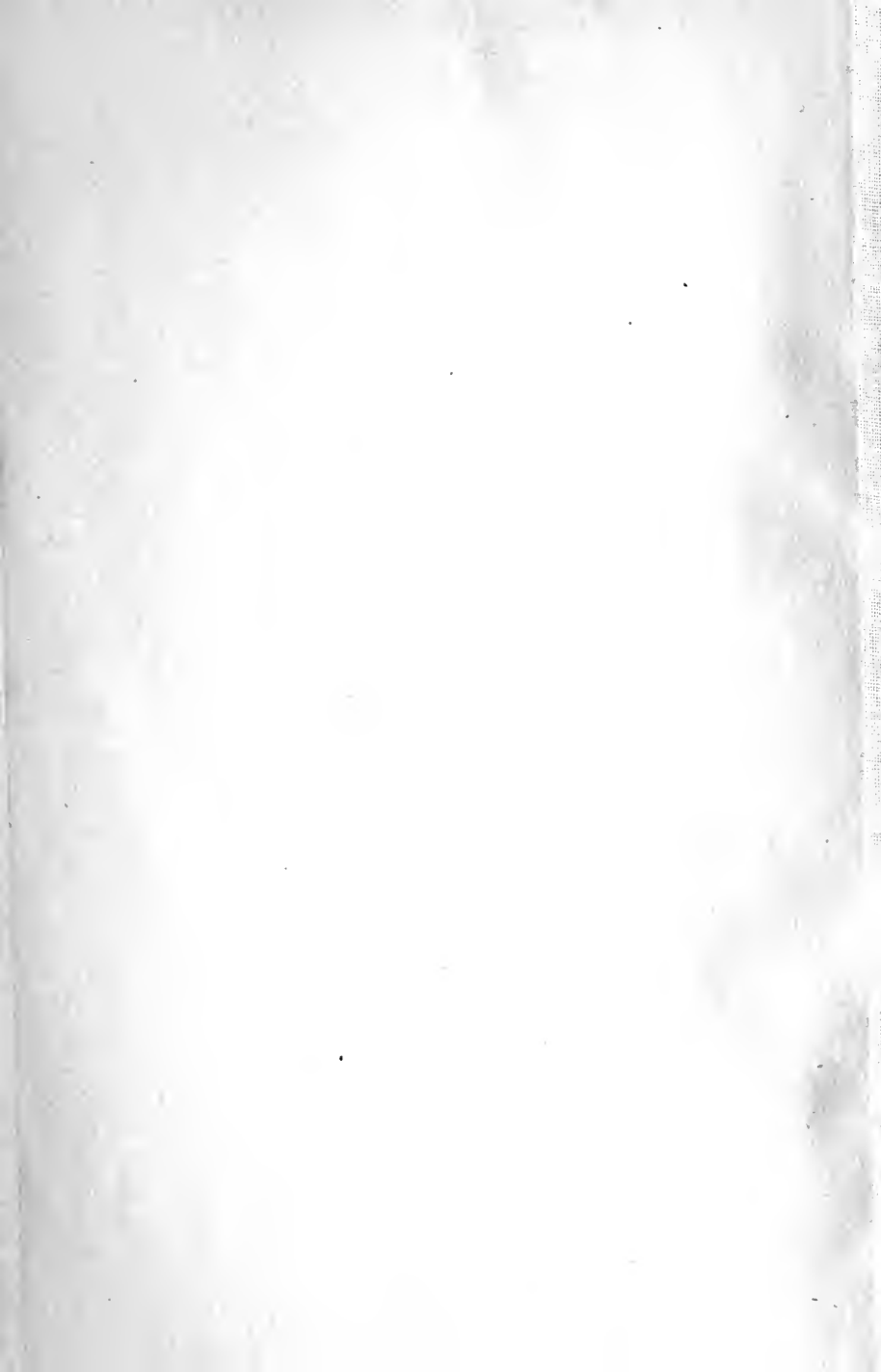
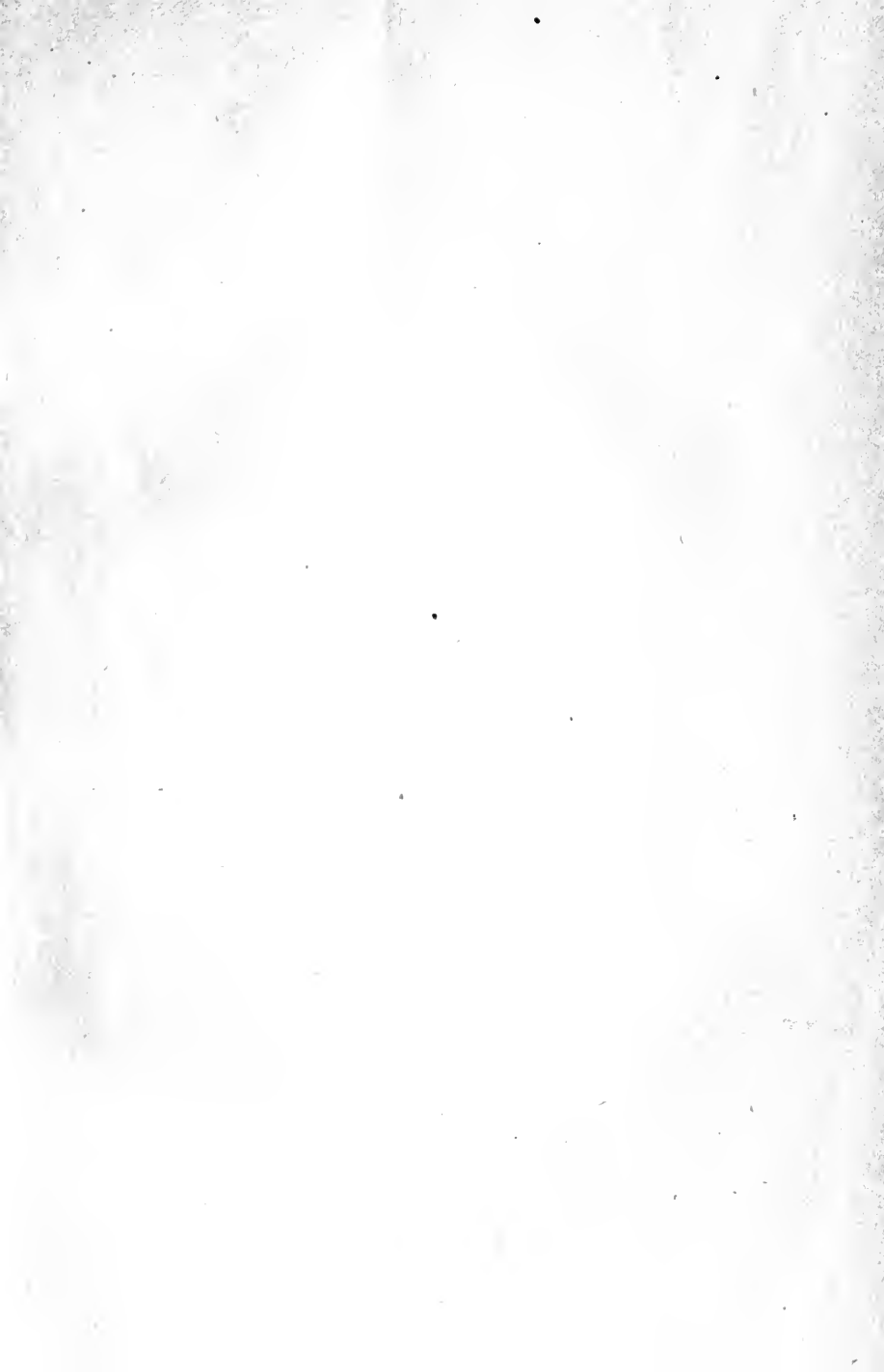


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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES	I
SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY	9
THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER	16
WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES	22
SOME OLD SURREY ROADS	29
THE BIRTHPLACE OF SHELLEY	38
READING TO CHICHESTER	41
A PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION ON THE BANKS OF THE THAMES	46
EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX	56
THE LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAM- STEAD	63
STAR CHAMBER CASES, NO. X	70
NOTES AND QUERIES	75
REPLIES	77
REVIEWS	79

NOTICES.

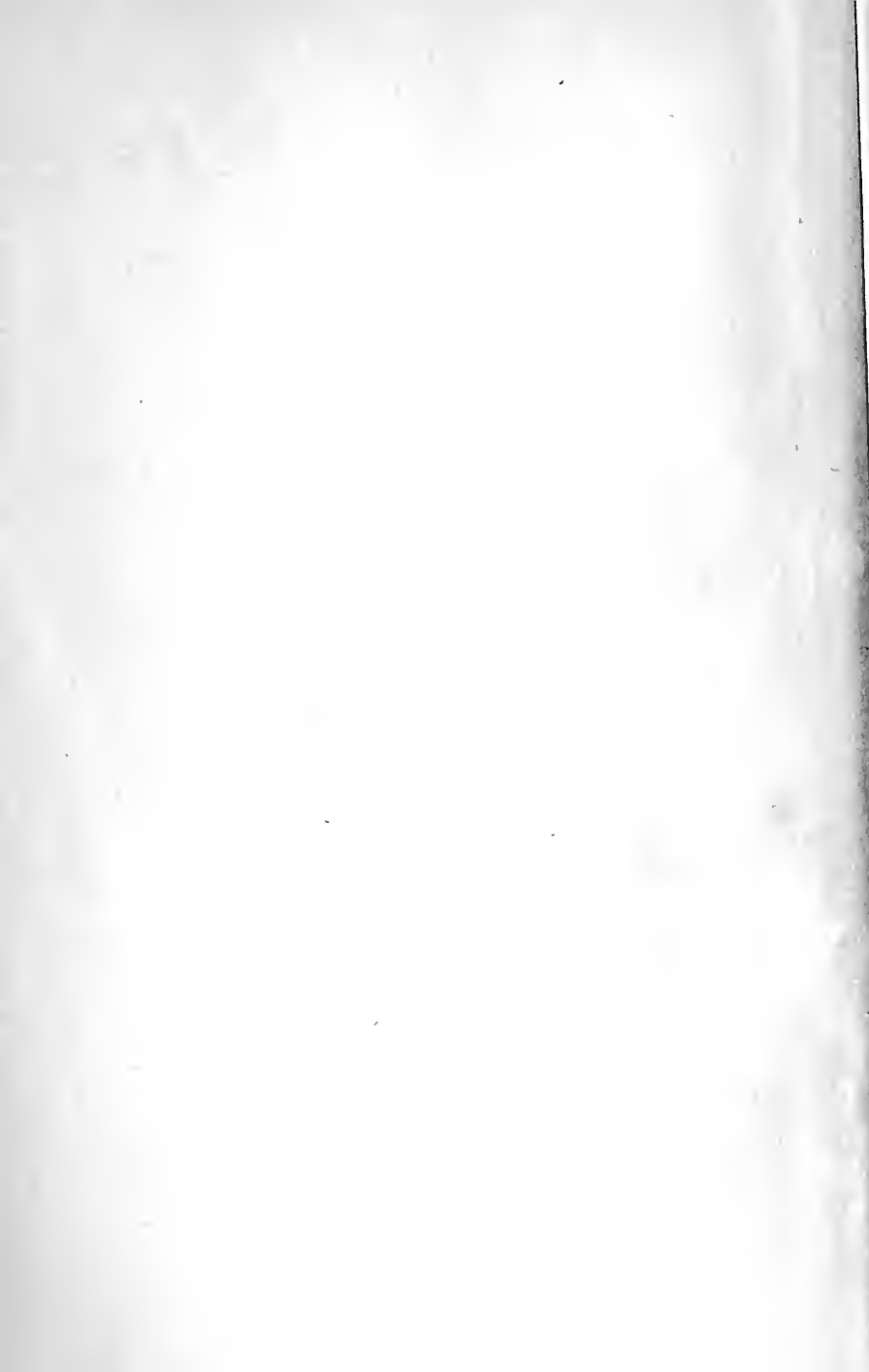
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VOL. XIII



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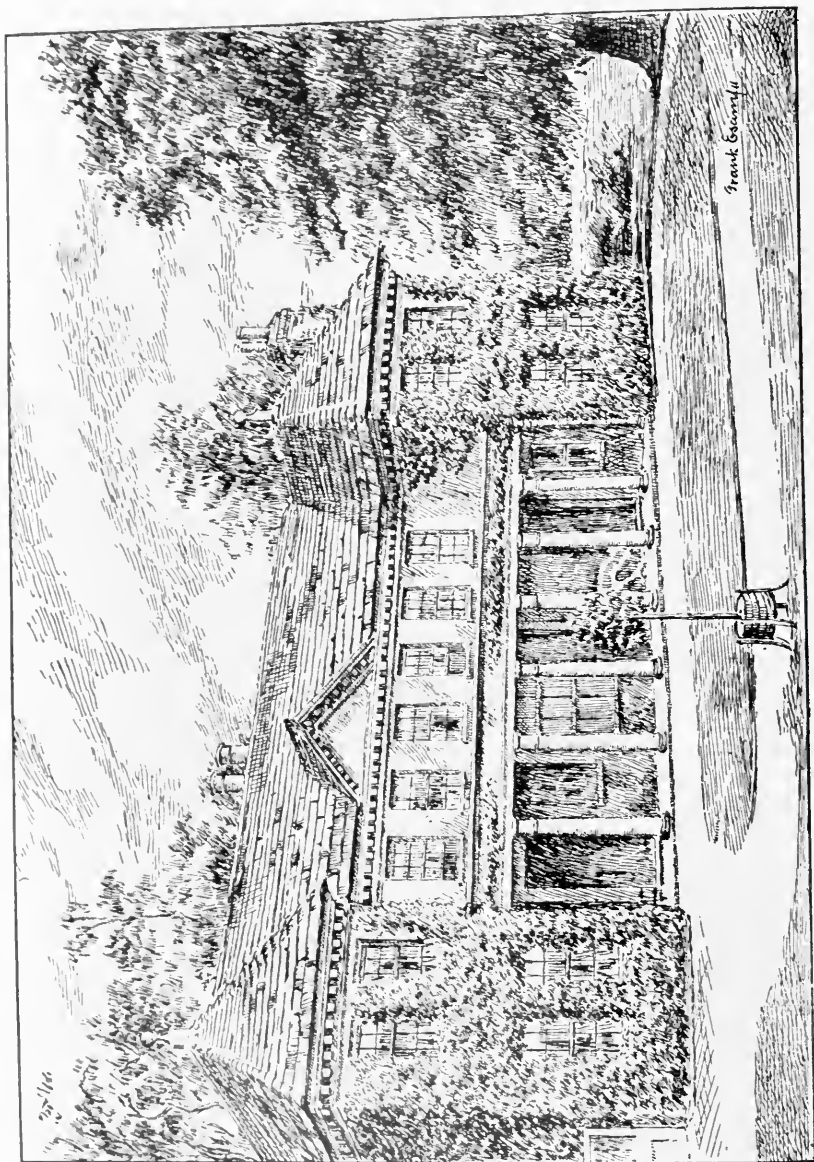
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(See p. 38)

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

BY C. EDGAR THOMAS.

THE task of selecting a few of the very numerous old London Coffee-Houses for the purpose of description in this article, is a difficult one indeed; we would like to write of them all, but with the limited space at our disposal, that, alas, is impossible. It is not necessary to trace at any length the gradual growth of the coffee-drinking habit; suffice it to say that one Jacobs, a Jew, was the first to establish a coffee-house, at Oxford, in the year of grace 1650.

A striking example of the lack of enterprise in those days is afforded by the fact that his example was not followed until two years later, when a similar establishment was set up in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, by Pasqua Rossee, this being the first coffee-house in the City of London.

The new drink took some little time to find favour with the public; it had to be tried, and its efficacy for the cure of headaches and other ills—that had been claimed for it—proved. But this once accomplished, the coffee-houses quickly sprang into favour, and by the time of Charles II they were to be found in great numbers all over the metropolis. They soon began to exercise an influence on public opinion; for men of all classes met under their hospitable roofs for the discussion of their several trades and professions, and to cultivate a spirit of social intercourse.

At first they were distinctly cosmopolitan in their frequenters; merchants, actors, lawyers, doctors, literary folk, and even judges and "gentlemen of the road," are said to have rubbed shoulders there. Even the poorest, by the expenditure of a penny or two-pence, the price of a cup of coffee, could mix with the company and enjoy the conversation. A person desiring to meet another at that time, would not ask where he lived, but what coffee-house he frequented. In later years, however, they became quite distinct by conforming to

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

the exclusive use of specific classes; thus, for instance, "Will's" became the resort of the Whigs, "the Chapter" catered for the booksellers, "Lloyd's" for mercantile folk, and in like manner others were devoted to lawyers, merchants, men of letters, medicoes, etc. Many of them possessed reading and writing rooms, and it was quite a common thing for agencies for the sale of various goods to be started there. For more than a hundred years the coffee-houses held sway, but in the course of time they slowly declined, the better class houses becoming clubs, and the humbler ones—those that were not closed—continued to exist as taverns.

It is proposed in the following pages to view some of these coffee-houses as they really were; to record the many legends associated with them, and to make their frequenters live again in these fascinating rendezvous that have played so important a part in the history of our mighty London.

ST. JAMES'S COFFEE-HOUSE

The St. James's Coffee-house was the famous Whig resort which held sway from the time of Queen Anne to George III. It was situated at the south-west corner of St. James's Street, and being in close proximity to St. James's Palace, was a favourite haunt of the Guards. Swift was a great frequenter, having his letters addressed there; those from Stella being enclosed under cover to Addison, until the friendship cooled between the two men, when they were sent direct. In writing to Stella, he says: "I met Mr. Harley, and he asked me how long I had learnt the trick of writing to myself. He had seen your letter through the glass case at the coffee-house, and would swear it was my hand."

It would appear that the worthy Dean christened the child of Elliot, who kept the establishment at the beginning of the eighteenth century, for in a letter to Stella, dated November 9, 1710, he writes: "This evening I christened our coffee-man Elliot's child, when the rogue had a most noble supper, and Steele and I sat amongst some scurvey company over a bowl of punch." St. James's Coffee-house is memorable as being the scene where Goldsmith's celebrated poem, *Retaliation*, originated. He was one of a small party of witty and talented men, who occasionally dined there, and at these dinners it was characteristic of him to be the last to arrive. On one occasion a fancy seized the assembled company to compose epitaphs upon

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

the late-comer, which the majority of them did; one only however has been preserved. This was Garrick's, who wrote:

Here lies poet Goldsmith, for shortness called Noll,
Who wrote like an angel, but talked like a poll.

Goldsmith, who was extremely sensitive, did not relish the satire, and in revenge produced the poem which so grossly maligned his friends. Steele is said to have written some of his love-letters from this coffee-house to "Dear Prue," the beautiful Mary Scurlocke, who eventually became his wife. Numerous stories could be told of curious happenings at the St. James's, but space forbids us mentioning more than one or two.

One day a scene of extraordinary violence was witnessed. Among the company in the coffee-house was a certain Baron de Lingsivy, who suddenly ran a Frenchman through the body with his sword. It seems that the Baron had no apparent reason for his action, save that he willed that the company should be serious. Lord Carlyle, commenting on the incident in a letter to a friend, said: "The man won't die, and the Baron will not be hanged."

And again, one night a little while after Steele had issued the first number of *The Tatler*, a few well-dressed men forced their way into the house, and abused and insulted Steele as the author of that journal. One of them swore that he would teach him better manners, or, failing that, cut his throat. Lord Forbes and two army officers happened to be present, and when the cut-throat had uttered his threat, one of them reminded him that "In this country you will find it easier to cut a purse than a throat." Eventually the desperadoes were ejected. A new patent oil lamp was hung outside the premises in 1709, the inventor being one Michael Cole. The St. James's Coffee-house was closed in 1806, and a pile of buildings erected on its site.

WHITE'S COFFEE-HOUSE

At White's. . . .
In that bow-window—scandal's favourite seat—
The inquisition of St. James's Street,
Where bilious questioners await their prey
And dawdling idlers kill the tedious day,
Where wit, and fool, *bel esprit*, and bore,
Together congregate at half-past four.

WILLIAM, LORD ALVANLEY.

White's Club, situated on the west side of St. James's Street, was originally known as "White's Chocolate House,"

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

which was opened in 1693—some chronicle the date as 1698—on the site now occupied by Boodle's Club, by Francis White, of whom little is known. He saw that by catering for the aristocracy good business could be done, and his enterprise and foresight were quickly rewarded and the establishment soon became one of the most popular in London. Indeed, so greatly did it prosper, that in four years White had to seek larger accommodation on the opposite side of the street. Francis White died in 1711, leaving a fortune of £2,750, and his widow, Elizabeth White, carried on the business until about 1725; in 1750 we read that John Arthur, who had formerly been White's chief servant, became the owner. On April 28, 1733, a disastrous fire occurred, completely destroying the premises, together with a fine collection of paintings, belonging to Sir Andrew Fountaine, and valued at £3,000. The King and the Prince of Wales came from St. James's Palace to witness the conflagration, and did their utmost to encourage the efforts of the firemen. In addition to ordering the Palace guard to keep the populace back, they between them gave thirty guineas to be distributed among the firemen.

Consequent on the fire, the chocolate-house then sought temporary premises at Gaunt's coffee-house near by, and returned to its old quarters directly the rebuilding was accomplished. It was at this period that the first step towards the formation of what afterwards became the celebrated White's Club took place. Certain of the more exclusive frequenters of the coffee-house, desiring to keep themselves aloof from the general throng, made arrangements to have a portion of the premises reserved for their own special use. This was done, and they formed themselves into a club, which was confined to the period when Parliament was sitting. The rules provided that election was to be strictly by ballot, with a quorum of twelve members. A subscription of one guinea a year was enacted "towards having a good cook"; only members were to partake of these dinners or suppers, which were ordered to be on the table by ten o'clock precisely, and the bill was to be brought in on the stroke of midnight.

From the club-book of October, 1736, we find that the Duke of Devonshire, the Earls of Cholmondeley, Rockingham, and Chesterfield, Sir John Cope, Major-Gen. Churchill, and Colley Cibber, the actor and dramatist—said to be the only member of the profession admitted to White's—were members. Contemporary writers record that Cibber was always greeted on

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

his entrance with cries of "Oh, King Coll," "Come in, King Coll," and "Welcome, welcome, King Colley."

Heidegger, a foreigner, was another member, being connected with the theatres and for some time manager of the Haymarket. He amassed a huge fortune by reviving masquerades, which had gone out of fashion since Charles II's time, White's serving as the office for the sale of tickets. Great opposition was expressed towards this form of entertainment, especially by the bishops, but a Bill brought before Parliament to suppress them was ignominiously thrown out.

John Arthur was succeeded in the management of the Coffee-house by his son, Robert Arthur. The membership at this period totalled eighty-two, and the slow process of election, together with other circumstances, induced some members and intending members to form a separate club, which they did, distinguishing it from the original by giving it the title—"The New Club at White's." The members were drawn principally from the younger generation, and, in time, membership of this new body came to be looked upon as a probation for the older club. Others who eventually became members were William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, Sir R. Walpole, George Selwyn the dramatist, Lord Temple, Richard Granville, George Grenville the naval secretary, Sir George (afterwards Lord) Vincent, the third Earl of Albemarle, who captured Havannah, while in 1762 Robert Clive became a member, some little time after his decisive victory of Plassey.

Charles James Fox belonged to both clubs, chiefly owing to the influence of his father, Lord Holland, an original member of the old club.

Increasing membership compelled Arthur to seek better accommodation, and he removed to the house in St. James's Street, belonging to Sir Whistler Webster, which is still the home of the present White's Club. Before this the club had gained an unpleasant notoriety for gambling. Walpole states that the Earl of Chesterfield was a great player there; and Swift says that Walpole, Earl of Orford, never passed the premises without bestowing a curse upon it as the bane of half the English nobility. Lord Littleton, writing to Dr. Doddridge in 1750, says: "The Dryads of Hagley are at present pretty secure, but I tremble to think that the rattling of a dice box at White's may one day or other (if my son should be a member of that noble academy) shake down all our fine oaks. It is dreadful to see, not only there, but almost in every house in

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

town, what devastations are made by that destructive fury, the spirit of play."

In the rules of the club of 1780 we find that dinner was ready every day during the sitting of Parliament at a reckoning of 12s. per head—reduced in 1797 to 10s. 6d.—while hot suppers were 8s. per head; also, "that every member who plays at chess, draughts, or backgammon, do pay one shilling each time of playing by day, and half-a-crown each by candlelight." The two clubs were amalgamated in 1781, and the subscription was raised to ten guineas.

The anecdotes of White's would fill a good-sized volume. It was here that Lord Cobham was made to apologize to Lord Bristol, for having spat in that worthy lord's hat at a fashionable function. Lord Carlyle is said to have lost £10,000 at play in a single night. Indeed, so great did the gambling fever seize the patrons that bets were made on the most trivial points, a special book being kept for the entering of these wagers. Curious, indeed, is this entry: "Lord Mountford bets Sir John Bland 20 guineas that Nash outlives Cibber," for both Nash and Cibber lived to see the two wagers put an end to their own lives. Mountford would, however, have won the bet, Cibber dying at a very advanced age in 1757, and Nash four years later. Sir John Bland blew his brains out in 1757, having lost his fortune at hazard; Mountford also came to a tragic end. Fearing to be reduced to distress, through his love of play, he applied for a government appointment, and determined that the reply should be a matter of life or death. The answer was unfavourable, and his subsequent procedure shows the cool nature of the man. He consulted several people on the best and easiest way of ending life, invited his friends to a dinner party the following day at White's, and then played until ten o'clock the following morning. Sending for a lawyer and witnesses, he executed his will, making a point of asking the lawyer if it would hold good if a man shot himself. Being assured that it would, he requested them to wait a moment while he stepped into the next room. He did so, promptly ending his life with a pistol.

Horace Walpole records that Fox did not shine in the debate on the Thirty-nine Articles in the House of Commons, February 6, 1772, because he had been playing from Tuesday evening the 4th instant, until five o'clock in the evening of Wednesday the 5th. At the finish his losses amounted to £18,000, yet an hour before he had recovered £12,000! On

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

the Thursday he spoke in the debate, then repaired to White's, where he stayed drinking until 7 o'clock next morning. From there he went to another gambling saloon, losing £6,000, and in the afternoon set out for Newmarket.

After the removal of the Club to larger premises, Arthur retired and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Robert Mackreth. He enjoyed a rather shady reputation, being concerned in many questionable money transactions; but he afterwards aspired to the dignity of an M.P., and it is said that Sir Robert Walpole used his influence in this matter, in return for a considerable loan. In later life he was knighted, dying a rich man at the advanced age of 94, still possessed of the freehold of White's, together with other considerable property. In 1770, a person using the pseudonym "Cherubim" assumed control, to be replaced about 1784 by one John Martindale. In 1812 a Mr. Raggett was the proprietor. In 1798 the celebrated Beau Brummel became a member, whose wit and fascinating personality were much appreciated. Play was his ruin; he is said to have lost £26,000 at one sitting. Contracting debts that he could not hope to pay, he fled the country, ultimately dying in a Calais lunatic asylum in 1840. The Club underwent structural improvements from time to time, and, in 1851, four bas-reliefs, representative of the four seasons, were set up in the front of the house, the interior at the same time undergoing repair and redecoration.

Hogarth has immortalized White's in Plate VI of his "Rake's Progress," which shows a room of the club during the fire of 1733, with the gamblers playing on quite regardless of their danger. From the reign of George III the notoriety of White's as a gambling den began rapidly to decline. The strict order of the new monarch's life, and the example set by the new Court, was soon generally followed. The drunken orgies and fierce play ceased to be, and White's gradually became a meeting place for serious men of affairs.

WILL'S COFFEE-HOUSE

Will's was one of the most famous coffee-houses of its time, but the date of its opening is unknown. It was kept by William Urwin, and achieved fame as an open market for libels. The first mention of the establishment is made by that famous old gossip, Pepys, in his *Diary* under February 3, 1664: "In Covent Garden tonight, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great coffee-house, where I never was

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

before; where Dryden, the poet I knew at Cambridge and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our college, and had I time then or could at other times, it will be good company coming thither, for there I perceive is very witty discourse."

Dryden sat here each evening throughout the year for forty years or more, discussing poetry with the customers and settling any disputes that might arise in the arguments; his chair being placed, in winter, near the fire, while in summer he sat out on the balcony. To receive a pinch of snuff from his box was considered a great honour. Pepys became a regular frequenter of Will's, as did also Addison, Congreve, Wycherley, and Pope. The company, which was extremely cosmopolitan, met on the first floor, where a great deal of smoking was indulged in. Pope has described how he was taken, a lad of twelve summers, to see Dryden, whom he found "a plump taciturn man, with a fresh colour, and a dour look." In after years Pope became a regular customer, firmly believing the magic drink of coffee to be a cure for aching heads.

Dryden is generally said to have been returning from Will's to his house in Gerard Street when he was cudgelled by three ruffians hired by the Earl of Rochester, in the winter of 1679. Rochester was provoked to this assault by the publication of an essay of Dryden's, in which the poet had made scathing references to him, exposing him to ridicule as a poet, wit, and rake. Dryden's name has also been recorded in connection with another affair. It would appear that two very great friends, Sir Henry Bellases, and one Tom Porter, were dining together at Will's, and Sir Henry, in giving his friend some advice, spoke rather loudly, causing others to think they were quarrelling. Turning round, the baronet said: "I would have you know that I never quarrel, but I strike, and take that as a rule of mine." "How," said Porter, "strike! I would I could see the man in England, who durst give me a blow." At that, Bellases soundly boxed his ears, and had they not been separated they would have fought there and then. Going out, Porter met Dryden, told him about the quarrel, and that he was resolved to fight Sir Henry immediately, because if the matter were allowed to wait, they would quickly become friends again. A little while after, Porter passed his adversary's coach, and, stopping it, promptly bade him descend. They drew swords, and both were wounded, Sir Henry the more

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

severely; he kissed Porter, saying "Tom, thou hast hurt me, but I will make shift to stand upon my legs till thou mayest withdraw, and the world not take notice of you, for I would not have thee troubled." Another frequenter of Will's was a drunken profligate, named Julian, of whom Sir Walter Scott has left some account, and the contemporary Duke of Buckingham also wrote a *Consoling Epistle to Julian*. John Gay, the author of the famous *Beggar's Opera*, for some time graced the company with his presence.

The decline of Will's commenced with the dawn of the eighteenth century. After the death of its leading light, Dryden, in 1700, the number and quality of its customers rapidly deteriorated, the literary atmosphere giving place to commercial topics and the dice-box. Dean Swift thought very little of its conversation, describing it as the worst he had ever heard. The end of this establishment is shrouded in mystery, by some it is believed to have dragged out a humbler career as a tavern of somewhat shady repute, while others say it was closed in 1710, and the house utilized for a perfumery business. About a century later, 1817-1823, Charles and Mary Lamb resided on the original site of Will's, and there he wrote the first series of his beautiful *Essays of Elia*.

[To be continued.]

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

BY PETER DE SANDWICH.

[Continued from vol. xii, p. 236.]

HOUGHAM.

1561.

THAT our Vicar hath two benefices and hath a plurality. They lack the Paraphrase of Erasmus for lack of the Parson's money; Mr. Hannington having the Parsonage to farm, and will not pay it.

That the uppermost part of the rood-loft is not taken down, but the middle part thereof.—(Fol. 89; vol. 1561-62.)

1567. The church doth come into decay for lack of repara-

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

tion; and further that the people do not come to the church as they ought to do upon the Sabbath days.—(Vol. 1566-67.)

1569. (Abp. Parker's Visitation.)

Rectory:—Impropriator, the Abp. of Canterbury.

Vicar:—Dom. Henry Wood, who is married and resides there, he has also the Rectory of Eastbridge in Lympne Deanery; he is hospitable according to his means; not a preacher nor licensed to preach, not a graduate.

Householders, 26.

Communicants, 95.—(Fol. 54.)

That they have not the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

The Divine-service is said in the church, because the quier is in such decay that it cannot be said there for the rain.—(Vol. 1569.)

1571. We do present that our chancel is in so great decay that our Vicar can say no service in it, nor hath not done this twelve-month.

Our church-yard is in great decay for lack of repairing, and want of hedging.—(Fol. 47.)

Mr. Hannington and his wife and some part of his household have not received the Holy Communion at Easter last, nor doth come to the church all the year long.

The Vicar's wife for that she hath not received at Easter last.—(Fol. 48; vol. 1671-72.)

1578. That Mr. Captain Bailey doth not come to his parish church according to his duty.—(Fol. 6; vol. 1577-83.)

1580. *See under* Badlesmere, vol. vii, p. 212.

1586. The chancel is in decay in tiling, and in the beam falling, in the default of William Hannington the elder, gentleman, farmer of the parsonage.—(Fol. 25.)

1589. Our vicarage-house and the hedges be gone greatly to decay by the means of Mr. Hutton, and the parish unserved this month, whereby we desire to be better served, and to have order for the repairing of the vicarage, and mending of the hedges.—(Fol. 73.)

1590. We say that by the space of this half year past, we

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

have had no minister that hath said service every Sunday and Holy-day.

That our vicarage-house is very much at reparations.—(Fol. 87.)

1591. John Alderstone, being Vicar of Hougham [1590-2], hath so ill provided for the service of the cure and administration of the sacraments, that one Dowker, being a mere layman and altogether unlicensed, was by him appointed to serve there, and amongst other services did presume to baptise the child of one Mommery of the parish of Hougham.—(Fol. 124.)

1592. We, the churchwardens and sidesmen of Hougham, do present Edmund Halton, weaver, who taketh upon him to expound the scripture and to christen children, having no authority for the same, and being forbidden by the churchwardens and sidesmen divers and sundry times.—(Fol. 142.)

Mr. Finnes of Hougham, for that he denieth to pay his cess money towards the providing of necessities unto the same parish, viz.—a Bible, a service-book, a Communion cup, table cloth, etc., cessed at 4*d*. the acre, twenty shillings.—(Fol. 147.)

Mr. Henry Amy, for that at Easter late past, nor since, we have had no Communion in our parish.

2. We present him further for that these two Sundays last past, nor yesterday, being May Day (as they call it), we had no service in our parish church.

3. Our Minister is not resident, neither doth he catechise every second Sunday, as is required, nor yet wear the surplice, and also sometimes in saying Divine-service he omitteth and readeth not part thereof, as upon Palm Sunday he neither read the Gospel nor Epistle, as he should have done.—(Fol. 168; vol. 1585-92, part 1.)

All these hereunder named dwell in our parish of Hougham, but have not resorted to church, notwithstanding open admonition in our church hath been given by the Minister, viz.:—Mr. Humfrey Mede, George Bing, John Kenton, Henry Tiddiman, Alexander Tiddiman, John Cook, Arnold Dawes, Thomas Ovill, Nicholas Flinteson, Alexander White, Richard Carter, Derrick Garrett, James Roucher, John Goldeston, Richard Wenlock, John Matthews, William Country, John Kirton, John Hallocke, Arthur Panther, John Bragg, Simon Carter, Casby, a mariner.—(Fol. 1-15.)

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1596. The churchyard is not sufficiently fenced. The church and chancel are in many places untiled and unglased. The buttresses of the church are greatly decayed and the stones thereof in many places fallen down.

That Master Amy, Minister of Hougham, doth not reside on his benefice, nor keepeth hospitality. That he preacheth without license. That he liveth by usury or putting out much of his money to usury.

On the last day of January, 1597, when he appeared in Court, he said that he dwelleth in the vicarage-house, and hath done these four years, and keepeth hospitality according to the value of the living. That he never put out any of his money to usury.—(Fol. 64; vol. 1585-92, part 2, 1593-1602.)

1607. George Hambrook the younger, for that he mowed oats on two several Sabbath Days in the harvest time last past, viz., 30 August and 6 September.—(Fol. 112.)

That our Minister doth not wear the surplice, as is required, in public prayers, but only when he baptised children and administered the Communion.

Our Minister doth not instruct the youth of our parish so often as is required by reason that they will not so often repair unto him.

That our parish-clerk (King) is of age sufficient, but he can neither write nor read.—(Fol. 113.)

1609. Richard Burden of our parish, for carrying or causing to be carried wood out of a wood to his own [place] two or three times on May-day last.

On June 12, when Burden appeared in Court, he stated:—That there being a piece of land in Hougham in controversy between him and one Mr. Engham, from which the said Mr. Engham had felled wood, and he upon the day detected caused his son, John Burden, and one Richard Standford and Robert Turrall, his servants, with his horses and waggon and with another waggon, to fetch wood from that piece of land to his own house, which he did only for the preservation of his title in that piece of land.—(Fol. 177.)

George Hambrook, for suffering his waggon or cart to help carry the wood upon the same day.—(Fol. 178; vol. 1602-9.)

1618. Richard Burden, for that he on a Sabbath Day between Midsummer day and August last past, immediately

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

after sermon, did rail at an honest gentleman, Mr. Thomas Fineux, and did say that he was a Cosen [*i.e.*, cheat]. He began this unmanerly speech in the chancel, and continued it until he came out of the church, to the great dishonour and disparagement of that honest gentleman, and the offence of the parishioners.—(Fol. 175.)

George Hambrook, for that he usually keepeth his cattle upon the Sabbath Day in the time of divine service and sermon, and cometh not to church at all; and officially I present him and Richard Burden, for that they on Sunday the 22nd November last past, came unto the church stile in the time of Divine Service and sermon, and so went their way and came not into the church at all, to the dishonour of God and contempt of his word, and evil example of their neighbours.—(Fol. 176; vol. 1609-18.)

1619. That the church of Hougham, the church-porch, steeple, leads, windows, and paving of the same church, and also the churchyard and fence thereunto belonging, is very much decayed, and is very much in want of reparation, and like in short time for want of due repairing to be utterly ruined.—(Fol. 20.)

1622. Richard Burden and his wife, for their maliciousness, contentions, uncharitableness, their railing, scolding, and scorning of divers amongst their neighbours.—(Fol. 62.)

1624. Thomas Norman and his wife, widow Christian and her son, Robert Liddon and his wife, for not receiving the Holy Communion in our parish church at Easter last, they dwelling in our parish of Hougham, as the common fame is in our parish, and we usually fetch in their several houses in going the perambulation of the circuit and bounds of our parish, and so have the parishioners of the same parish used to fetch in the same houses, or the ground whereon they stand, for these many years, as is now commonly reported in the parish of Hougham.—(Fol. 83; vol. 1619-32.)

1635. We present Edward Hills, Thomas Giles, Robert Bennett, Richard Goddin, and Thomas Brockman, for not coming to their parish church of Hougham, there to hear Divine Service and sermons, and to receive the Holy Com-

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

munion, as by the law they ought to do.—(Fol. 22; vol. 1585-1636, part 2.)

LYDDEN

1569. (Archbishop Parker's Visitation.)

Rectory:—Impropriator, the Abp. of Canterbury. Vicarage in his patronage.

Vicar:—Dom. Richard Phontayne, who is married and resides there, has also the vicarage of Ewell, and vicarage of River, in the same Deanery; he is hospitable as far as he is able, not a preacher, nor a graduate.

Householders, 8.

Communicants, 20.—(Fol. 53.)

That one William Beyton and his household do work upon the Holy-days.

The chancel is not furnished as it ought to be.

That the Parson of Lydden will not allow 6s. 8*d.* towards the Paraphrase of Erasmus.—(Vol. 1569.)

1571. We do present Roger Dugdale, farmer of the parsonage of Lydden, [that the chancel] is out of reparations, both above head as not being water-tight, as underfoot not being even, but full of holes, unseemly to beholders; and although the same hath been heretofore already presented, yet we find no redress or reform therein.—(Fol. 50.)

That the vicarage-house and other houses thereto belonging, be in such ruin and decay for lack of repairing.—(Fol. 122.)

1572. That the chancel of Lydden is unpaved and like to fall, if speedy redress be not had, because the same hath often been presented and yet unreformed.—(Vol. 1571-72.)

1576. We present the wife of Thomas Marshall, presented for a witch.

The glass windows of our chancel lacketh reparation, also the pews.—(Fol. 173; vol. 1574-76.)

1578. We lack a cover to our Communion-cup, and a decent cloth to lay on our Communion Table.—(Fol. 25.)

1579. John Stooke, for that he will not pay 6s. 8*d.*, which he was cessed at to the reparations of Ewell Church, being a great owner in the said parish of Ewell.—(Fol. 31.)

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1580. *See under* Badlesmere, vol. vii, p. 212.

1582. Our vicarage-house is ruinous.

The chancel almost utterly decayed for lack of reparations.
—(Fol. 92; vol. 1577-83.)

1588. We present our chancel for lack of reparation in the walls, the roof lacks tileing, the glass windows broken, the seats in the chancel greatly decayed and broken.—(Fol. 51.)

1590. Our chancel being not repaired by Mr. Thomas Monings, Parson of Lydden.—(Fol. 95.)

1593. We present Mr. Saunders, our Vicar [1583-94], for that upon Sunday next before May-day, upon the Sunday next after May-day, neither upon May-day last, nor yet on the third Sunday after, we had no service in our parish, neither Morning nor Evening Prayer.

2. Our vicarage-house is greatly out of reparations.

3. Our Minister doth not catechise so often as is required.
—(Fol. 172; vol. 1585-92.)

That the windows of the chancel wanteth glazeing and are greatly out of reparations, and the said chancel wanteth tileing, and likewise the church. The churchyard also is not sufficiently fenced and enclosed, so that the swine and hoggs come therein, and root and dig up the graves and make great spoil; and further there is a cove or part of a certain house built some eight or nine foot into the church-yard there without the consent of the parishioners or any part thereof.—(Fol. 21.)

1594. Our chancel wanteth reparation, some of the glass windows are broken down and decayed.

Our vicarage-house, by reason of the late wind, is in some part thereof uncovered and unthatched.—(Fol. 24; vol. 1592-1602.)

1604. Edward Parker, Vicar of Lydden, for causing to be set up or building a stable in the church-yard.—(Fol. 179; vol. 1604-5.)

1605. Our chancel is not paved, but floored as it hath been accustomed, nor whited, nor yet sufficiently repaired. Mr. Stephen Monings is our Parson.—(Fol. 59.)

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

We have not the Ten Commandments in our church yet, but we will out of hand.

We have no Table of Degrees [of marriages forbidden] but we will have.—(Fol. 60; vol. 1602-9.)

1623. I, Stephen Carelton, church-warden of Lydden, do present Francis Pilcher, late of Lydden, now of Hougham, for that he detaineth from me and the other church-warden, two kine of the value of £3 6s. 8d., to wit, 33s. 4d. each, and the profit of the same kine, ever since Easter last, being after the rate of 5s. 4d. yearly, which kine and the profit thereof was at the first given for the maintenance and reparation of our church, and is to remain in the hands of the church-wardens of our parish for the time being.—(Fol. 68; vol. 1619-32.)

1635. We have a Bible of a large volume, but not of the new translation.—(Fol. 31; vol. 1585-1636, part 2.)

1706. Arthur Tucker, Vicar, for neglect of his cure, and other matters.

Also for neglecting to read the proclamation and prayers on the last fast, and for other matters.—(Fol. 91; vol. 1678-1735.

[To be continued.]

“THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER.”¹

BY I. GIBERNE SIEVEKING.

AFTER Rickmansworth the magic of the country begins. It is impossible to desire anything fairer than, on a day in early summer, Buckinghamshire spread before one's eyes. The sheen, the glamour, are indescribable.

One's eye notes with keen pleasure the way in which Nature, with her artist's eye, lays on her colours. Here the distant gleam of red from a big patch of clover adjoining the woods; there, a picturesque orchard on a softly rounded slope, its trees knobbly, stunted, gnarled, dotted about irregularly; and perhaps the delicate blue of a forget-me-not on the near bank.

¹ Leland.

"THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER."

Later comes a royal blaze of yellow from a clump of marigolds, as the train reaches Chalfont Road. Beyond lies a field of winter oats in slanting stacks; the stacks of two delicate shades of grayish olive green, light above, dark below, and burnished with a dull steely light. Beyond, again, a stretch of delicate saffron colour, sprinkling itself daintily upon a far reach of velvet meadow land.

Little Missenden lies cosily in the bosom of the hills, woods growing closely all around. No hint of the village can be seen from the train. A little further on, one reaches Great Missenden, with its gray, brown roofs, irregularly rising up the hill. Everywhere—over everything—is a glorious wealth of colour, flung royally, lavishly, unstintingly. Purple of scabious, rose-pink of valerian, scarlet of poppy; while every now and then the rarer crimson of foxglove shows up at the border of a wood. Now and again the glitter of a shallow pool, scintillating shafts of sunlight playing all over it; greenish plants growing thick on one side of its bank, and a skimming water-bird above. One's eyes are dazzled by the transfiguring radiance of exquisite embroidery of colours: vivid green, vivid yellow, and vivid red, scarcely a "crumbling pageant" as Dryden said of old of another scene, but a very quickly fading one all the same.

Wendover is not far from Great Missenden. But before one reaches the station there comes in sight, on the right, signs of an old British encampment, beside which passes the line of the ancient Roman Icknield Street, which ran through Buckinghamshire to Berkshire. Lipscomb definitely asserts that Wendover once was a British trackway. Leland describes the village thus:

"A pretty Through-fayre Towne havinge 2 streets well wuilded with Tymbre. There is a Causey made almost through o passe betwixt Alesbury and it, els the way in wett tyme as in a lowe Stiffe Claye were tedious and ill to passe. The Townlett Selfe of Wendover standeth partly upon the N.E. Clifffes of Chilterne Hilles. The Residewe and N.W. Parte standeth in the Rootes of the Hilles. Looke as the Countrey of the Vale of Alesbury for the most part is cleane barren of Wood, and is hampaine; soe is all the Chilterne well wooded, and full of inclosures."

In Domesday Survey Wendover is mentioned as the King's manor, rated at 24 hides. "There was land for 26 ploughs.

the demesne there were three. There were 26 villeins and 6 serfs having 17 ploughs. There were two mills of 10s. rent. . . .

"THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER."

Pasture for three plough-teams, and 20s. overplus, wood for 2,000 hogs. Altogether it was assessed at £38 annual rent in legally assayed money."

There is a charter, whose date is uncertain, belonging to the reign of King John, in which King Stephen is said to have exchanged the manor of Wendover with Hugh de Gurney, or Gurnace. In 1216 it was given to William de Fednes, or Fiennes, and in 1218 William de Cantilupe became possessed of it with other lands. What is clear is that Wendover as early as the sixth year of John's reign was mentioned as being in Norman possession, having been the property of Robert de Tibevill or Turberville.

In 1591 Henry IV of France gave the borough of Wendover, and the manor of Wendover Forens to Elizabeth. (Anglo-Saxon "foran" meant "before," and, in its original sense, "beyond"—thus, Wendover Forens was a kind of outer parish. Wendover Dean is a little hamlet near by, and formerly belonged to the Danes.) "In 1544 the King, by Patent . . . assigned a meadow called Castle Ditch meade, a close of pasture called Spittle Pond, a piece of land of 5 acres in the Bury Field, a close called Well Head Croft, arable land called Fowslow Downe, . . . a load of wood for fowell, yearly to be taken out of the wood growing upon Backcomb . . . parcel of the late monastery of Great Missenden. . . . In 1666, Ordered that any of the inhabitants of Wendover Forens shall have free access unto the Cage and Stockes within the Burrowe of Wendover, and to putt their prisoners into the said Cage or Stocks as often as they have occasion soe to do, without any let or hinderance of the inhabitants of Wendover Burrowe, uppon paine for any that shall hinder them."

Not far from Wendover is the old house called the Hale, which belonged to Dr. John Colet, the famous Dean of St. Paul's. He was a native of the place, and built later a hermitage at Shere, in Surrey, where he died of sweating sickness in September, 1547.

The earliest grant for a market and fair at Wendover was by charter of Edward III to Sir John de Molyns, of Stoke Poges. The original charter represents this fair to have been holden on St. Barnabas' Day. In 1552 "the King granted an acre of land called Lampland, in occupation of William Colet, given to maintain a light in the church, also the roods of arable for maintenance of a light there, habend. to them and to the heirs and assigns . . . for ever in free soccage of

"THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER."

the manor of East Greenwich by fealty only." I asked the present Rector of Wendover how long the light had been discontinued, but he could give me no clue to the date of its cessation. No word about it could be found in the church registers. There is the same mention of maintenance of a light in the Stoke Mandeville Church in an old record to which I had access, but here again I could not trace the date of its being extinguished. The church registers date back to 1600, and there are some quaint entries among them. I found there the following notice, in black letter, dated 1678:

Caroli II. Regis.

An Act for burying in Wollen.

Whereasⁿ an Act made in the 18th year of His Majesties reign is now entitled for Burying in Wollen only was intended for the lessening the Importation of Linen from beyond the Sea, and the encouragement of the Wollen and Paper manufactures of this Kingdom had the same been observed, but in Respect there was not sufficient Remedy thereby given for the discovery or prosecution of offences against the said Law, the same hath hitherto not had the effect thereby intended,

and goes on to say that nothing made or

mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or any other thing whatsoever than what is made of Sheep's Wooll onely should be used.

In 1688 the woollen manufacture practically took precedence of all others, and they were sacrificed to it. Other materials were manufactured, but at that time, whenever their interests ran counter to the woollen trade, the Government had no conscience in destroying them ruthlessly.

In the vestry is a curious record, which runs thus: "In House of Commons May 17th, 1642, it was ordered, on humble petition of the Parishioners of Wendover, that Mr. Carter, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Beverley, Mr. Clendon, Mr. Spurstow, Mr. Blakwell, Mr. Sennatt, and Mr. Woolful, Orthodox Divines, being beneficed men in the same county, alle preachers and of good conversation who are willing thereunto, shall have liberty, freely and without any interruption, to set up and keep a lecture every Thursday weekly in the said Parish Church of Wendover." This custom has also long been discontinued.

An old tradition belongs to the building of the church. The Rector told me that many of the inhabitants had told him the story of it, and it has been quoted in *Notes and Queries*.

It relates to a meadow adjoining the church, which, accord-

“THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER.”

ing to this tradition, was originally intended to have been built there. There the building was actually begun, but the materials were all carried away in the night by witches, and deposited where the church now stands. Eventually the “witches” had their way in the matter, and the parishioners were overruled as concerned the question of where their church should stand.

To the north of Wendover is Stoke Mandeville, which was one of the manors of the Bishop of Lincoln at the Norman Survey. Leland says that “Bierton was originally a Chapel of ease to Aylesbury, and its revenues were annexed to that prebend in Lincoln Cathedral by Richard Gravesend, Bishop, with the Chapels of Quarendon, Buckland, and Stoke Mandeville by patent in 1266 . . . and farther by Henry VIII in 1524 to Longland, Bishop of Lincoln. Stoke Mandeville was only a daughter Church to Bierton. The Aylesbury Hundred is formed by union of three ancient hundreds, Elesberie, Risberge, and Stane, and still retains formally the appellation of the ‘Three Hundreds of Aylesbury.’ . . . Elesberie contained *Estone* called now Aston-Clinton, Bierton or Burton, with Buckland or *Brotone*, now Broughton, Hulcott and *Stockes*, since called Stoke Mandeville.”

At Stoke Mandeville the two spurs of the hills, where the British camp was supposed to have lain, are plainly visible. The fosse is covered with woods lying between, and clumps of dark growing furze lying thick upon the slope. The whole effect of these hills is most picturesque, especially when seen on such an afternoon of glamour and brilliance as that when I saw them first. Successive gleams of sunshine climbed the slopes swiftly in and out of the furze bushes, until, having reached the summit, they suddenly disappeared leaving all beneath uncertain in outline, sombre and mysterious.

The village contains a number of fine old barns and interesting buildings; one, in particular, called “Yew Tree Farm,” is almost completely hidden from view by a quaintly cut yew tree. Some little distance from the village, standing, as an old record says, “in a low, watery meadow,” is the old church, now practically in ruins. The “low, watery meadow” is charming, with a little softly flowing stream meandering along through it, sentinelled by rushes, and attended by companies of wheatears. Service is never held in the church now, for there is a newer building close to the station.

In some old records of the place the following entries occur:

"THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER."

"In 1553 the King granted *int. al.* to Sir Edward Bray, Knt., John Thornton, and John Danby, one and a half acres of land and one acre of meadow in Stokenanfield, in the occupation of the Churchwardens, to the maintenance of a light in the Church for ever. . . . To the said Edwd, John and John, and the heirs and assigns of J. Thornton and J. Danby for ever, of the manor of East Greenwich, by fealty only, in free soccage. . . . By an indenture, April 16, 1649, Edward Wade, of Ellesborough, yeoman, for £540 conveyed to Henry Babham, of Walton in the parish of Aylesbury . . . part of the manorhouse of Stoke Mandeville, and one bay at the west end of a tiled barn and cow-house belonging to the same; and several closes and pieces of arable land in Stoke Mandeville in the tenure of Cicely Bankworth, widow." In the south wall of the church, Lipscomb mentions there is a piscina under a bracket arch, and an altar-tomb of stone, and above is written in Roman capitals:

Cruell death by mortal blades,
Hath slaine foure of my tender Babes,
Whereof Mary Thomas and Dorothee,
Within this place their bodies lye,
But God which never man deceaved,
This death to them is greates gayne,
Increasinge ther joy freeing them from payne,
O Dorothee my blessed Childe,
Which lovingly lyved and dyed, mylde,
Thou wert my tenth even God's owne Choyce,
On Good Friday at night my Doll departed,
Adew my sweete, and most true hearted,
My body with thyne I desire should lye,
When God hath appointed me to dye,
Hopeing through Christ He will provide,
For my Soule wth thyne in heaven to abyde,
And I your Father Edmund Brudenell,
Untill the Resurrection with thee will dwell.
And so adewe, my sweete Lambes three,
Untill in Heaven I shall you see
Such is my hope of Richard my Sonn.

This Edmund Brudenell died seised of the manor of Newbury in Stoke Mandeville parish, having by his testament (of 1425) bequeathed an annual rent of ten marks out of the manor for a chaplain to pray for his soul and the soul of Alice his wife, for thirty years. "King John," according to another record, "having exchanged part of Risberge . . . for certain lands in

"THE TOWNLETT SELFE OF WENDOVER."

Stoke Mandeville; one moiety of the manor was held in 1302 by William de Kirkeby, who died seised of it in that year. . . . The site of the lands among the hills and woods is near Prestwood Common, between Missenden and Hampden, on the left hand side, near Rignall on the north, and Honour End Farm on the south, being an insulated portion of Stoke Mandeville parish, and by a memorable circumstance connected with English history, as the land assessed for ship money when in possession of the patriot Hampden; giving rise to the trial which brought Mr. Hampden into great celebrity, and was ultimately productive of such important consequences to the King and the nation, as well as to Hampden himself."

Three miles away across the downs is Chequers Court, said to be one of the most beautiful places in Buckinghamshire. It was the Exchequer in John's reign, but there was a house here in the days of William the Conqueror. There are several portraits of Cromwell at the Court, and numerous relics of him and his family, including his sword, his watch, etc.

Beacon Hill, one of the hills in the Chiltern range, rises near the house, and there is, from its summit, a splendid view over a vast plain, in which are dotted about various churches and villages, among them the town of Aylesbury, and far in the distance, the Malvern Hills.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

BY E. VAUGHAN.

[Continued from vol. xii, p. 256.]

AS regards the Puritan witch-panic, no doubt it was prevalent all over the country, but the chief manifestation occurred in the Eastern Counties, where extreme Protestantism had firmly taken root, largely derived from its intercourse with the Continental form. And no sooner had the popular creed become powerful than the persecution commenced, starting in 1644 at Manningtree, whence it soon spread all over the districts of Essex and East Anglia.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

The outbreak was fanned, if not created, by the malevolent greed of a human monster named Matthew Hopkins, who had settled in Manningtree, and is supposed to have practised as a lawyer. But a more lucrative occupation now offered itself in the shape of professional "Witch-finder," and having qualified locally for this Satanic trade by the judicial murder of seven or eight old women, the wretch rode from place to place, with a certain John Stern for assistant, and a woman to act as searcher for the "Devil's marks," demanding twenty shillings for each town visited, and the same price per head for every witch discovered. His methods were to take the suspected person, and extort confession of guilt by either "swimming," running pins into them, or—most effectual of all—to fasten the culprit in her own house upon a stool or table, and let her remain bound for twenty-four hours without food or water, always leaving a little hole at the doors for imps to enter by. Another process consisted in "walking" the witches between two people and not allowing them to sleep for nights together. Imps generally were in evidence, for if no innocent dog or cat made its appearance, the watchers might perchance see a flea, and if they did not succeed in killing it, then it was pronounced to be an imp.

Hopkins had found the "waking" treatment most successful in dealing with a Manningtree witch, who, after three nights of enforced sleeplessness, naturally went delirious, and confessed to having sold herself to the Devil, and a "proper Gentleman" he was, "with a laced band." After this acknowledgement, her imps began to appear, the first being like unto a little fat spotted spaniel called "Jamara," who "suckt good blood from the Witch," and another odd creature in the form of a long-legged greyhound, called "Vinegar Tom," with "an head like an Oxe, a longe taile, and broad eyes"; to whom "this Discoverer" (as Matthew termed himself) spake, bidding him "goe to that place prepared for him and his Angels." So the obliging monster "immediately transformed himself into the shape of a little child of foure yeares old without a head, gave halfe a dozen turnes about the house, and vanished at the doore."

The iniquitous trade of Hopkins soon came to the ears of Parliament, which added fuel to the fire by sending out a Commission to inquire into the matter, including two Puritan ministers of undoubted piety—Calamy and Fairclough—the latter being especially noted for his "Greate gravity, tempered

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

with a Surprising Sweetness." These two divines accompanied the judges in their circuit, and accepted as conclusive evidence the wild self-accusations of the half-demented creatures after the usual barbarities had been resorted to. Yet Baxter says they went "to see that there was no Fraud nor Wrong done them," and adds that "Understanding, Pious, and Credible Persons" visited the witches in their prison, and "heard their sad confession." Fairclough, who possessed among his many "partes" the talent of being "a Boanerges in the Pulpit," preached two sermons before the judicial court at Bury upon the sin of witchcraft. Hutchinson states that although he was unable to ascertain the exact argument of the preacher's "Notions," yet "the Effect was that they went on to execute them in great Numbers: And therefore, we may believe he recommended these Prosecutions as a Piece of Piety. . . . But the Clergy of our Church opposed them so far as they had Power," which was not very much just then. The hunting went on unrestrained, and in Suffolk alone sixty victims were hanged in one year.

Perhaps the most inexcusable deed of which we have any record during this period was the execution of Mr. Lowes, "an ancient Clergyman, near fourscore years old," who had been for fifty years the Vicar of Brandiston, in the same county. Baxter, who evidently had the story from the accuser's point of view, speaks of him as "an old Reading Parson," which denoted that he was continuing to use the devotions of the Anglican liturgy, instead of extemporaneous prayers, and proceeds to relate that the supposed wizard confessed to keeping two imps of a destructive nature. For it befell that one day, when walking by the coast and watching a ship out at sea in full sail, the most mischievous of the two imps "moved him to send to sink the ship," to which he accordingly consented, and the vessel went down into the depths before his eyes.

This strange tale was carefully investigated in after years by Dr. Hutchinson, who communicated with a successor of the unhappy cleric, and discovered trustworthy parishioners who were able to give him a very different version, especially one "worthy gentlemen," whose father had lived in Brandiston before him, and knew the old Vicar personally, and stated that he had been much respected as a "painful preacher"; he had done his duty since the days of Elizabeth, but he was an ardent Royalist, and therefore a "malignant." When the witch-

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

catchers came they not only "swam" him at Framlingham, but "waked and walked" him several nights running, "until he was weary of his life, and scarce sensible of what he said or did."

Afterwards at his trial, he "maintained his Innocence stoutly, and challenged them to make proof of such things as they laid to his Charge." "This," says Hutchinson, "I had from a Person of Credit, who was then in Court, and heard his Tryal. . . . I never heard any one speak of him, but with great Compassion, because of his Age and Character, and their Belief in his Innocence." He was sentenced to be hanged, and his last wish for burial with Church of England rites, seems to have been refused. So "when he came to his Execution, because he would have Christian Burial, he read the Office himself, and in that way committed his own Body to the ground, in sure and certain Hope of the Resurrection to eternal Life."

And so the reign of terror pursued its way, continuing for quite three years, and Hopkins grew fat on the blood of the witches. A visit to Yarmouth resulted in the satisfactory discovery of sixteen sorcerers, who were executed in a batch; and, a little later, eighteen were condemned to death at Chelmsford. Wilson, the steward of the Earl of Warwick, was present at this trial, and has left upon record his disapproval of the slaughter, and his shrewd suspicion that the prisoners were only possessed with "melancholy, mischievous, . . . ill-dieted, atribilious constitutions," with "fancies working by grossfumes and vapours," and that fear alone made people see in every "rat or cat an imp or spirit."

Imps indeed abounded, and considerable aptitude was shown by the witches in the selection of names. One Manningtree specimen, like a black rabbit, was called "Sack and Sugar"; while "Pyewochit," "Peck-in-the-crown," and "Griezzel Greeigut" sound suggestive enough of characteristic qualities. They were said to suck human blood, but old Goody Hagtree kept hers a year or more upon oatmeal. Their reputation was of the worst; in fact there seemed no limit to their enormities, for besides sinking ships, they carried death and disease to whomsoever they were willed to go; they slew cattle, worried sheep, and killed lambs. Any dog or cat might be an imp, so one does not wish to reflect upon the terrible fate too often dealt out to harmless creatures in consequence of a witch-scare. The wretched victims in their

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

demented condition told crazy stories of imp adventures, and there is little doubt that they really raved about their domestic pets.

In one Suffolk instance, a "Gentlewoman of very great Piety and Virtue" told Hutchinson that when the witchfinders came to her neighbourhood, they played their inhuman tricks upon an innocent old woman, who at last, worn out and light-headed from being deprived of food and sleep, confessed to having in her keeping an imp called "Nan." Upon hearing of this, the husband of the "good Gentlewoman," himself a "very learned ingenious" man, and "having Indignation at the Thing," went without delay to the abode of the dame, taking his wife with him, and exercised a piece of practical Christianity. For finding the wretches still at their work, they promptly turned them out of the house; after which, they fed the poor creature, and put her to bed. Upon coming to herself, after a long sleep, she could remember nothing that she had said, and could only account for mentioning "Nan" by the fact that she kept a "pullet of that name."

It has been noticed that the few representatives of the old clergy did what little they could to protest against Hopkins and his crew. "Several Clergymen preached and spake against them, as far as those Times would suffer," says Hutchinson, and especially mentions Mr. Gaul, Vicar of Stoughton, in Huntingdonshire, who wrote a book exposing the cruelties of the evil trade, and inserted at full length a bullying letter that the witch-finder had sent to some official in the parish. In this impudent epistle, Hopkins coolly announced his intention of giving the "Town a visit suddenly . . . to search for evil-disposed Persons called Witches," and having heard that the "Minister is farre against us through Ignorance," he meant to come, "God willing, the sooner to heare his singular Judgement in the behalf of such Parties." After hinting that other ministers who had preached "against their Discovery in a Pulpit" had been forced to make a public recantation, he adds: "I much marvaille that such evil Members should have any . . . of the Clergy, who should dayly preach Terrour to convince such Offenders, stand up to take their Partes. . . . I am to come to Kimbolton this week, and it shall be tenne to one, but I will come to your Town first." This was evidently a bit of bluff, for he goes on to say, "I would certainly know afore, whether your Town affords many Sticklers for such Cattell, or willing to give us good

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

Welcome and Entertainment, as otherwhere I have beene, else I shall wave your Shire, and betake me to such Places, where I doe, and may persist without Control, but with Thanks, and Recompense. And so I humbly take my leave."

Probably the wretch did not show his face in Stoughton, when the Vicar was busy collecting evidence of his enormities, which was afterwards published. The seeds of mercy and justice had been sown, and the day of reckoning was at hand.

It cannot be ascertained with any exactitude when the final act in Hopkins' career took place that called forth the long-delayed retribution, but it is clear that he was busy at his vile work of "searching and swimming the poor Creatures," when "some Gentlemen, out of Indignation . . . took him and tied his own Thumbs and Toes, as he used to tye others," and flung him into a pond, where he floated, and so the witch-finder was proved to be a wizard. Strange to say, he does not appear to have been hanged on the nearest tree as might have been supposed, but allowed ignominiously to escape, and, according to one account, found his way back to Manningtree, where vexation, and the unwonted cold bath, so upset his constitution that he soon died. Anyhow, he disappeared, and, as Hutchinson shortly remarks, "that cleared the County of him; and it was a deal of Pity that they did not think of the Experiment sooner."

Butler, in his *Hudibras*, part of which is supposed to have been written in Essex, alludes to this time of the witch-hunting. After relating how Hopkins

within a yeare,
Hang'd Threescore of them in one Shire,

and giving a satirical list of misdeeds, such as

putting knavish Tricks
Upon green Geese, and Turkey Chicks,
Or Pigs that suddenly deceas'd
Of griefs unnatural,

e presents the last scene in the following concise lines:

Who after prov'd himselfe a Witch,
And made a Rod for his own Breech.

Henceforward, although many individual cases occurred, a wholesale massacre ever again disgraced the county, even the Puritan period. Two women—a mother and daughter—were executed at Bury in 1653; and about the same time

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

another reputed witch, called Jane Lakeland, was either hanged or burnt in Ipswich.

But witchcraft belief does not die out easily, and some curious trials continued to take place in East Anglia after the Restoration. One of the most remarkable was that of two poor old women called Amy Dumy and Rose Cullender, which was heard before Sir Matthew Hale, at Bury, in the year 1664. Both of the accused were condemned and hanged.

The chief offence of Rose Cullender lay in having used some rustic remedies to soothe a neighbour's child that she was nursing, but unfortunately the after result was a fit of "the Vapours"; the indignant mother at once ascribed this to sorcery, and consulted a witch-doctor. By his advice, she hung up the child's blanket in her wide, open chimney, and found at night that it had harboured an imp in the likeness of a toad. This poor creature was promptly seized by the tongs, and thrust into the fire, where it "made a great and horrible Noise, flash'd like Gunpowder, and went off like a pistol." The countercharm was said to be successful; the effect of fire being occultly conveyed to the witch, who thereby was "burn'd lamentably," according to Dame Durrant's version of the story.

Amy Dumy had a longer list of sins to answer for. John Soan gave evidence that as he was carting corn one day with three carts, one of them collided with Amy's little hut, and "wrenched" it. Naturally she came out in a rage, and "let him to know" her opinion of his carelessness, for surely "either a jadish Horse or a silly Driver belonged to that Cart." After a wordy battle on went John, and next drove into a "gate-head"; this time the wheels were set fast into the obstacle, so he cut down the post, and had no hesitation in saying that Mother Dumy had "overlooked" him.

Other charges were laid to her door, but the most strange was that of bewitching the two children of a certain Mr. Pacy, apparently a fish merchant residing at Lowestoft, and in this deed she was associated with Rose Cullender. The two naughty women called at Pacy's house one day with the lawful intent of buying some herrings, but, as probably they had an unhappy reputation, they were refused, and went off grumbling. So when the children subsequently developed fits, what could be more reasonable than to attribute the cause to a malignant spirit left behind by the witches? The medical diagnosis of that time encouraged the suggestion; even the learned Sir

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

Thomas Browne, being asked in court by the judge for his opinion, "declared that he was clearly of Opinion that the Fits were natural, but heightened by the Devil, co-operating with the Malice of the Witches, at whose Instance he did the Villanies"; a sweeping assertion from the author of *Religio Medici*, and one that helped to seal the fate of the culprits.

Baxter heard the circumstances of this case in after years, when the afflicted maidens had grown up to women's estate, and forgotten all their childish troubles. One detail related by his informant struck the divine as singularly convincing. This revelation was vouchsafed to a "Godly Minister," who visited the family in the evil day, and had the privilege of seeing one of the girls in a fit, when a practical demonstration was granted of the powers of darkness, as the sufferer raved, and roared, and distorted her body in hideous convulsions. Yet in order that irrefutable evidence should be his whereby to silence for ever the "Infidel and the Sadducee," a special token was sent. An invisible ghostly hand laid hold upon the good man's clothing; seized an important hook, dragged it off, and it disappeared. Heedless of his distress, the evil spirit conveyed it by occult means into the interior of the damsel's anatomy, and the exhibition of black magic was completed by an attack of nausea, by which means the pious minister duly received again his necessary hook. And Richard Baxter marvelled that any should doubt!

[To be continued.]

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

BY CHARLES V. O'NEIL.

IT has been pointed out by Canon Isaac Taylor, in the opening chapter of *Words and Places*, that there are two features which, as a rule, remain constant throughout all the changes to which a countryside is subject in the course of ages—the local names, and the names of the wild flowers. To these, I think, may fairly be added the general system of its roads and footpaths. One often hears it said that according to English law and tradition "once a highway, always a highway." There are of course many exceptions to this rule or law, whichever it may be; in Surrey, for instance, the ancient

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

track from Ockley on the Stane Street, through Parkgate and Newdigate to Gatton, every trace of which has vanished; and equally of course any thoroughfare may be closed by means of the necessary legal process, though such changes are not frequent, except perhaps in the neighbourhood of large towns. In rural districts it is seldom worth while to close an old track, and as a general rule when a road has been diverted, or its use abandoned, the old way has been allowed merely to revert more or less to a state of nature. In many parts of the country these overgrown derelict roads are among the most charming features of the district, and can hardly fail to suggest the most fascinating speculations as to their past history, and the conditions that led to their partial or entire abandonment.

It is a fact which may readily escape observation that the really ancient ways out of London through Surrey are no more than two in number; they are the Old Lewes Road, and the Portsmouth Road. The Kent Road passes through such a fragment of the county that it cannot be held to be in any way a Surrey road. This is without going into the question whether East Surrey may not in early days have been reckoned part of Kent: as a matter of fact the boundary does not seem to have been definitely settled even as late as Stuart times. The same remark applies to the great western highway, which from time immemorial has crossed the Thames at Staines, but which, in spite of the fact that it passes through some few miles of the county, in no way seems to belong to Surrey; moreover, in this case also the county boundaries were not fixed until the year 1226.

The reason for this dearth of direct means of communication with the south and south-west of the county is not hard to find. In a word, they were not required. The greater part of southern Surrey was originally covered by the great Wealden Forest, and, although the area of this was constantly diminishing, the clay lands, as they gradually emerged from a state of woodland, were given over entirely to agriculture.

The Roman road through Ockley and Dorking, which would have served central Surrey, fell early into disuse, and was eventually abandoned, except so far as it was required for purely local needs. As Mr. Malden says, it seems as if all desire for through communication had ceased, and for many centuries this part of the county consisted solely of small self-centred village communities.

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

The most moving tales are told of the misadventures that befell those who were obliged to travel through the tortuous miry lanes of the Weald, either on horseback, or, worse still, in wheeled vehicles of any description. This state of affairs existed until quite modern times.

It is true that Surrey became in parts the home of flourishing industries, but a minimum of enquiry will show that this industrial activity was confined to two districts in the extreme south-west and the south-east of the county, localities which were more or less in touch with the Portsmouth and Lewes Roads respectively, and where water carriage was to some extent available.

If one were to ask ten average Londoners which was the best known road in Surrey, there is little doubt that nine of them at least would answer "the Brighton road," and, speaking for themselves, and for the present day, they would, no doubt, be right; but it must not be forgotten that Brighton, as we know it, is but a creation of yesterday, and that, little more than a century and a half ago, out of the many roads from which we can now make a choice, should we set out to walk, ride, cycle, or motor in that direction, only one—the most easterly route, through Godstone and East Grinstead—was in existence.

This road, which is held of scarcely any account at the present time as a main highway from London, and, even below Croydon is known only by the strictly local appellation of the Godstone Road, was nevertheless for centuries the only route from London to the Sussex coast. Aubrey calls it the "Great road into Sussex," and there seems no reason to doubt that in the main it follows the line of a Roman highway, which possibly had Pevensey for its objective. Throughout what we vaguely call the "Middle Ages," it was essentially the road to Lewes, the great stronghold of Mid-Sussex, and it was by this road that Simon de Montfort and his barons marched in 1264 on the way to their triumph at Lewes.

The actual course of the road itself seems to have been subject to an unusual number of variations, but it appears to be generally allowed that it passed through Streatham, Croydon, and the Caterham Valley, in fact the course of the present road as far as Godstone, where, instead of bearing to the left, as does the present road, it kept on in a direct line over Tilburstow Hill, and then due south towards the Sussex border. This old road seems to have been abandoned at an early date be-

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

tween Godstone and Croydon, as, although the greater part of the modern village of Godstone borders it, these houses only date from times when it had again been taken into use. The church, on the other hand, is half a mile or more away in Flore or Flower Lane, which is said to be the "old main road to London." This secluded lane makes a very sharp ascent of the North Downs, and at the summit the old road runs in continuation along the eastern side of Marden Park. Attempts were made to close it here, but the Surrey County Council contested the matter with success, and it is now freely open to the public as a bridle way. North of Marden Park the road would appear to have curved to the left into the Caterham Valley, through the gap over which the Woldingham railway viaduct now passes, and thence to have followed the line of the present highway for a considerable distance, nearly as far as the modern Purley. Some little distance before reaching the railway arch, however, a chalky track diverges on the right. This is yet another abandoned section of the old road, which joined the road running through Smitham Bottom some little distance on the Croydon side of Purley. The portion of the road from Godstone up the Downs and through (or alongside) Marden Park is said to have been abandoned in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and it was presumably then that the older and obvious route through the gap by Godstone Quarry again came into use.

Just below the quarry there is a short section of disused road, about a furlong to the east of the main road, which is well worth exploring. It is said to be undoubtedly a fragment of the original Roman road, one of those portions which are confidently marked on the Ordnance maps as such, and it will be found to be a delightful specimen of those deserted highways which give a text to these notes.

When the coaching era set in, and the question of ready means of access to the south coast came under consideration, this old road to Brighton was not forgotten, and steps were taken to improve it by avoiding the climb over Tilburstow Hill, a new road being made further to the east, but running over comparatively low ground in lieu of the dry and sandy soil of the hill top. To this diversion we owe the quiet and pleasant bye-road over the hill, with its wide spreading views of green Surrey scenery, where we can be free from motors and all other disturbers of the peace.

The various roads to Brighton are, as I have pointed out,

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

but creations of yesterday, and their successive developments will be found chronologically recorded in the newer and vastly improved edition of Mr. Harper's *Brighton Road*, and in other works on the subject.

We are told that the stretch of road ten miles in length from Reigate to Crawley was the first highway constructed in Surrey since the time of the Romans. It was authorized by an Act of William III, and was at first protected by posts, with a view to restricting it to the use of horsemen; it was not until 1755 that it was thrown open to all traffic. But even such a newcomer among roads as this was not allowed to remain unaltered, and as a result of the striving after speed and the easiest route to the south coast that characterized the early days of the nineteenth century, one of those improvements, stigmatized in such unmeasured terms by Cobbett as for the benefit of "Jews and Jobbers," was carried out in or about the year 1820, between Sidlow Bridge, two miles south of Reigate, and a point about three-quarters of a mile north of Povey Cross, near Horley. The older road curved to the right over a slight rise known as Horse Hill, the mention of which recalls to my mind an instance of the fatal facility with which fallacious deductions may be derived from local names. Not very long ago there was some discussion in *Notes and Queries* relative to the exact significance of the name of Horsell near Woking, to which it was sought to give an Anglo-Saxon origin, and one writer adduced as a parallel place-name this Horse Hill, but he was presumably in ignorance of the fact that on the hill stood an inn known as the "Black Horse," and that the hill itself was alternatively known in coaching days as "Black Horse" Hill, so that there can be little doubt as to the inn having given its name to the place where it stood, much in the same way as the "Angel" and "Elephant and Castle" added new localities to London. It is highly probable that we owe the name "Horse Hill" to the stage-coach drivers, to whom the wayside inns were objects of interest surpassing anything else on the road. The inn has now disappeared, having been transferred to the new road when the latter was opened to traffic.

This deserted road is another instance of the truth of the old maxim that the longest way round may be the shortest way home, as although a slight advantage may have been gained in point of distance by using the straight road from Sidlow Bridge to Povey Cross, yet this lower road was fre-

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

quently impassable in winter, the Mole being subject to severe floods here as elsewhere, whereas the one over the Hill would have provided a way well above any risk of the kind, once Sidlow Bridge were passed.

Those who are interested in the history of our old roads will find in Mr. Hilaire Belloc's fascinating work, *The Old Road*, which deals mainly with the ancient British trackway that follows the course of the North Downs, a most picturesque, if necessarily imaginative account of the manner in which the sheltered waters of the Solent came in the earliest days of our history to be the natural objective of travellers from Gaul west of the Seine, from which we may fairly deduce the undoubted, and in fact obvious, conclusion that from time immemorial, or at any rate from the period when London first established its importance, there has been a way of some description, following the line of what we know as the Portsmouth Road. So far as we have any knowledge of the matter, the actual route has suffered singularly little variation, at any rate in the Surrey portion.

The primeval instinct towards seeking safety on high ground led the earliest travellers over the bare summit of Hindhead, arduous climb though it were in either direction, in preference to venturing round the base of the hill to the south, where Haslemere now lies, a course which would have led them through a densely wooded and swampy valley. To this day there is a strip of ground to the north-west of Haslemere, known as Grayswood Bog, which is quite impassable for a considerable portion of the year.

To the north of Hindhead lay a wide stretch of wild and treacherous moorland, that, up to the time when the enclosure acts were passed about half a century ago, remained without any roads worthy of the name; a state of affairs of which some idea may be derived from Mr. Baring Gould's romance *The Broom Squire*. It was commonly said that one could ride from Shottermill, near Haslemere, to Bagshot without leaving the heath. In the preface to the *Homeland Handbook* for Haslemere and Hindhead there are some interesting reminiscences contributed by an old resident in the neighbourhood, which show clearly the difficulty, if not actual danger, attending even such a short cross-country journey as that from Haslemere to Farnham no more than sixty years ago.

There still remains here a relic of the ways that did duty for roads down to the earlier part of the nineteenth century

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

in what is known as "Old Farnham Lane," which leads from near Haslemere Station to the summit of Gibbet Hill. This is now merely a very picturesque foot or bridle way, but, before the present easily graded road to the "Huts" was constructed, it was, as its name implies, the main road between Haslemere and Farnham, and moreover one may conclude that of its kind it was always better than the average, seeing that its course is for the most part along a dry ledge of hillside raised well above the bottom of the combe which it follows.

It is curious to note, and interesting as an instance of the tenacity with which traffic clings to its old routes, that in the years 1764 and 1785 new roads were authorized from Milford to Haslemere, and from Haslemere to the Portsmouth Road near Liphook, with the object of avoiding the long climb over Hindhead in either direction, at the expense of a very slight lengthening of the journey; these roads were duly constructed, and are still in use, but the coaches remained faithful to the Portsmouth Road, which was in due course improved, and continued to be, as it is at the present time, the main highway from London to Hampshire and beyond. I do not think a single coach travelled to Portsmouth through Haslemere, which was entirely served by those running to Midhurst and Chichester.

The most important modification that the Portsmouth Road has experienced affected the three miles between Hindhead and Thursley, but happily the old road has remained intact—a delight to the leisurely pedestrian.

Starting from the London end, as seems most natural, although it affords a very pleasant return route from Hindhead to the land of railway stations, the old track will be found to start opposite Thursley Church, which stands about half a mile from the modern road, and to the north-west of it. At the outset it is merely a narrow and somewhat ordinary country lane, but after passing a farm or two it begins to rise, and to lose its well-kept appearance. Soon there are fine views to the right into the combe, which is known at its head as the "Devil's Punchbowl." Presently the hedges disappear, and the lane, which has now become a steep and sandy track, eventually runs along the newer road, but at a much higher level. After falling and crossing the latter at an acute angle, it climbs the side of Gibbet Hill, and curves round the brink of the "Punchbowl," or, as Ogilby quaintly puts it, "fetches a great compass

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

to the left," finally joining the present Portsmouth Road just where the common land ends.

This beautiful old track, which was known as Road Lane, was abandoned in 1826, when the new road was cut, the reason being that it was considered dangerous for stage coaches travelling at the pace then in vogue; but it remains in excellent order for pedestrians, and is certainly one of the most picturesque of Surrey's abandoned highways.

It is said that in the earliest times the Portsmouth Road, or what is now known as such, instead of dropping to the valley of the Wey at Godalming, struck due north from Thursley to the Hog's Back. This would appear to be a not unreasonable supposition, as the long line of open hillside, viewed from afar, would be a great attraction to primitive travellers through an unknown or imperfectly known land; but there appears to be no sufficient evidence that this was actually the case, and there is no track across the commons that can be positively identified as having formed part of such a route. Moreover, Godalming claims a history dating from far back in the unrecorded past—its name testifies to this—and it was a place of sufficient importance even in the days of King Alfred to be specifically mentioned in his will; so that it seems likely that, even though in the earliest times wayfarers may have taken a more northerly route, the early existence of the flourishing settlement by the pleasant streams of the Wey would soon tempt those fresh from miles of inhospitable country not to pass it by. In any case, the necessity of crossing the river would lead travellers to the ford at Guildford, or to the possibly still older one at Shalford.

From Guildford, in a north-easterly direction towards London, the course of the road would again be determined by the nature of the country. To the north the many streams of the Wey to this day dominate the district, and before the river was regulated by Sir Richard Weston, about the middle of the seventeenth century, travelling must have been wellnigh out of the question in that direction. Moreover, the Mole had also to be crossed, and the Mole is even now an intractable, if insignificant, stream, and is still subject to serious floods, so that a straight course was laid down for the road as far as Cobham, where we know an old ford existed, which was, it is said, replaced by a bridge by Queen Maude, the wife of Henry I, in memory of one of her Maids of Honour, who was drowned whilst crossing there.

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

From Cobham the road would appear to have followed closely in the line of the present main road as far as Kingston, the importance of which was maintained from century to century by reason of the existence of a bridge there from very early times, even, it is claimed, from the days of the Romans. In addition to this its earlier name of Moreford testifies to the neighbourhood of a ford of the utmost importance. We know from the accounts of the skirmishes in the neighbourhood during the Civil War that Kingston Bridge was looked upon as practically the key to London from the south-west, and there seems to be no doubt but that whatever traffic came from the Portsmouth Road would cross the river here and follow the Middlesex shore to London. The present main road over Kingston Hill to Stones' End in the Borough of Southwark was constructed under an Act passed in 1718, but the popular route for coaches was to diverge to the left, after passing over Putney Heath, and to reach London by way of Fulham.

Notwithstanding that, as I have pointed out above, of the roads at present in use from London through Surrey only two can be called really old, it seems probable that from a very early date a road of some sort has existed, leaving the Portsmouth highway at Godalming, and serving Chichester and west Sussex by way of Petworth.

This road, until the advent of the coaching era, left Godalming by means of an exceedingly steep ascent to the south, and proceeded through very hilly country to Hambledon Common, to which point it is still in use as a bye road, but in the year 1764 a new road was authorized between Milford on the Portsmouth Road and North Bridge, Chiddingfold, when the old road, which is said to have been an extremely bad one, even for west Surrey, was completely abandoned between Hambledon Common and North Bridge. It is, however, still available as a footway, and at the Hambledon end the full width of the old roadway still remains, grass-grown from edge to edge, and bordered by fine oaks. A more charming reversion to nature it would be hard to find.

It is now known as Hambledon Hurst, but more probably that is the name of the woodland through which it passes. At the Chiddingfold end the old roadway is covered by a dense growth of trees and bushes, and no more than the narrowest footpath remains open. In the days when Chiddingfold was a flourishing industrial village, with glass works and iron foundries, and possibly some share in the Surrey wool trade,

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

and when the market granted by Edward II was still held, this road must have been a busy one; now, except for an occasional motor, the broad highway that has succeeded it is almost deserted.

[To be continued.]

THE BIRTHPLACE OF SHELLEY.

BY J. C. WRIGHT, F.R.S.L.

HORSHAM must have been a pleasant place in Shelley's early days. Even now there is a considerable number of old houses whose roofs bear testimony to the durability of the gray slabs of stone with which they are covered. The modern builder is satisfied with material more easily accessible and possibly cheaper than that of the olden times. Some of these old houses are to be seen between the Carfax and the Church; and here also may be found the iron ring to which bulls were fastened to be baited, for this sport was actually carried on until the beginning of last century. It is said that the people of Horsham were always fond of pleasure, but their amusements are now of a quieter kind; when the present writer visited the town everybody was talking of the Flower Show that was being held, and the strains of a brass band were very much in evidence.

At the end of the Causeway is the Church of St. Mary, remarkable for its long roof covered with Horsham stone. It belongs to the Early English period, with later additions, and was restored some forty years ago. Of internal decoration there is little evidence. The effigy of Thomas, Lord Braose, who died in 1395, may be noticed, but with the lapse of time it has suffered either from wanton mischief or wilful intention on the part of sacrilegious iconoclasts, who have chipped the face in ruthless fashion. There are several painted windows, the best, perhaps, being the Aldridge Memorial at the end of the south chancel. But we must leave the church and the town for a short literary pilgrimage to the early home of Shelley.

Shelley's name is rarely associated with Sussex, and yet, as everyone knows, he was born at Field Place, some two miles

THE BIRTHPLACE OF SHELLEY.

from Horsham. Through the courtesy of General Sir Edward Hutton, the writer recently visited this scene of the poet's boyhood, and was interested to find the house in harmony with one's preconceived ideas. Though some of the building bears evidence of modernity, the old portion has been allowed to remain much as it was in Shelley's days. Here the poet was born on the 4th of August 1792. The room where he first saw the light is shown; it is an ordinary-sized bedroom, with a low ceiling. Over the fireplace there is an engraved brass plate, on which his name is inscribed, with the date of his birth, and the following lines by the late Mr. Richard Garnett:

Shrine of the Dawning Speech and Thought
Of Shelley. Sacred be
To all who bow where Time hath brought
Gifts to Eternity.

Another room is pointed out as the room where Shelley's father usually sat; it was, in fact, his study. One can, in imagination, conjure up the scenes that were witnessed here when the youth began to exhibit signs of rebellion against paternal admonition. And yet, judging from one of his letters, written at the age of nine, he was much like other boys in his love for toothsome luxuries, for he begs his friend at Horsham to "tell the bearer not to forget to bring me a fairing, which is some gingerbread, sweetmeat, and hunting-nuts." We are told he was fond of mischief—he would "run a stick through the ceiling of the low passage to find some new chamber, which could be made effective for some flights of his vivid imagination." At ten years of age he was sent to school at Brentford, an academy kept by Dr. Greenlaw. He was not popular with his schoolfellows, and entered into few of their games. Wordsworth tells us "the child is father to the man," and certainly this truth was exemplified in young Shelley, who was fond of nature, of solitude, and too imaginative to be playful. He lived amidst the supernatural. He says of himself:

While yet a boy, I sought for ghosts, and sped
Through many a listening chamber, cave, and ruin,
And starlight wood, with fearful steps pursuing
Hopes of high talk with the departed dead.

Yet he was a boy, and boy-like he was fond of trying experiments. "His hands and clothes," says his sister, "were constantly stained and corroded with acids," for he was passionately fond of chemistry, practised in a crude fashion. But as

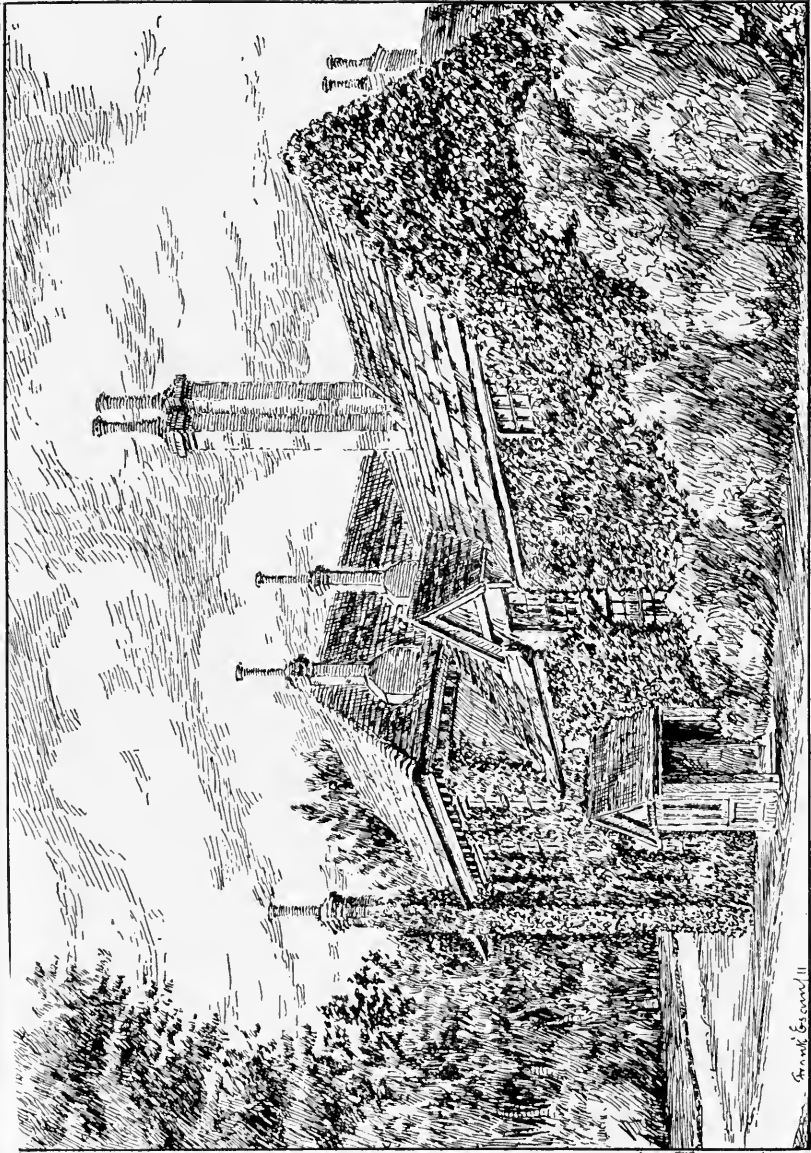
THE BIRTHPLACE OF SHELLEY.

he grew up, he manifested signs of unrest; he rebelled against the discipline that was meant to curb the passion of his soul; he despised correction; he expressed openly his feelings. There was no one to turn this wilfulness into a less dangerous course, and he thought himself misunderstood by all about him. His father he regarded as hard; and when, in the ordinary course of events, the young man went to Oxford, the iron had entered his soul. It was the beginning of the end. Expelled from his college, he was forbidden to return to Field Place. What should he do? He felt himself to be an outcast, a martyr, and, like most martyrs, he was unwilling to be a party of compromise or to attempt any reconciliation with those who might have softened their asperity towards him. He did not possess a sufficiently balanced mind to see the position in which he had placed himself. He became the slave of ideals which he could never hope to realize. His uncle, Captain Pilfold, took an interest in the erratic youth—Shelley was only nineteen at this period—and besought Mr. Shelley to make his son an allowance of £200 a year. Moreover, he received permission to visit Field Place. On his return to London—for he had temporarily lived in the metropolis—the manner of his life was unsatisfactory. On the other hand, his tastes were simple. Into his domestic oddities we cannot enter here. He “kicked against the altar of justice as established in the daily sanctities of human life,” and he bore the penalty. He was generous to a fault. His self-denial was remarkable. Yet he was

Neglected and apart;

A herd-abandoned deer, struck by the hunter's dart.

We know something of Shelley's last years—his life at Marlow, his residence at Pisa, his sudden death by drowning. “Those whom the gods love, die early,” may be applied to Shelley. His life of barely thirty years was filled with incident, and though he failed to realize his ideals, as we have said, his works display the genius with which he was so richly endowed. He longed for the regeneration of mankind. He taught that man was the child of immortal love; that he was made to be happy; and because he thought the Christianity of his day did not teach this, he appeared to be an enemy of Christianity. But he was “one of the few persons who can literally be said to *love* their kind.”



Field Place, Horsham.

READING TO CHICHESTER.

By H. J. DANIELL.

R EADING to Chichester is somewhat of a far cry, but the country traversed, lying in the counties of Berks, Surrey, and Sussex, is so picturesque and full of interest, that the following account of a cycle ride between these two towns may be worth recording.

The roads to be traversed are not always, perhaps, of the best, especially towards the end of the journey, but, save for Hindhead, there are no very steep gradients to be overcome, and the slight ascents are more than compensated for by the opportunities of "free-wheeling" on the downward grade.

For the first mile or so out of Reading the road to Wokingham follows the electric tramway, but, after leaving Earley, with its ancient demesne of White Knights, and crossing the Lodden stream by the picturesque old red brick bridge, the fine sandy roads and fir-topped ridges of the pine country are soon reached.

The first large town passed is Wokingham, a curious old place, mainly composed of three streets which meet in the centre of the town with a new Town Hall at their junction.

Wokingham was one of the last towns in which bull-baiting was carried on in England, even as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In fact, a certain inhabitant of the town once bequeathed a house, the rent of which was to go towards the provision of a bull for the purpose of baiting.

Beyond Wokingham the country is somewhat dull, as the road crosses ridge after ridge of sand, each much like the previous one, each smothered in pines. Every now and then, however, a glimpse is caught of pretty dells and patches of purple heather, but the road is so shut in by trees that the view of the landscape is somewhat limited.

Soon after crossing an old Roman road, locally known as "The Nine Mile Ride," the Byzantine towers of Wellington College appear in sight on the left, with the spire of the chapel rising behind them. The country becomes more open than hitherto, and green fields can be seen between the trees. Dreary pines are left behind, and the road begins gently to descend. It now crosses the eastern end of the Finchampstead

READING TO CHICHESTER.

ridges, and sweeps down the hill almost on to the top of Sandhurst Church.

Here the road bears sharp to the left, leaving the wooden tower of Yateley Church peeping through the trees on the right, and passes through the long straggling village of Sandhurst.

On the left is the larch-covered estate belonging to the Royal Military College. Originally started at High Wycombe, Bucks, in 1799, three years later the College was moved to Great Marlow in the same county. In 1812 it was decided to transfer the establishment to its present site, then a wild desolate waste covered with heather and gorse, with a few trees sparsely scattered about over it. The only remnants of this wide heath now left in the neighbourhood are the Uplands of the Hartford Bridge Flats, to be seen on the right across the Blackwater brook. Further up the London road to the east, however, much more of it remains in the shape of Bagshot Heath and the Chobham Ridges. When the old stage-coach traveller left Hartley Row on his road to London he looked to the priming of his pistols, for, between the Hartford Bridge Flats and Egham town lay one of the most dangerous parts of his journey, and here many a Dick Turpin, and other "knight of the road" played havoc with the nerves and valises of the passengers by His Majesty's mail.

The grounds of the Royal Military College are entered by the lodge gates on the left. The main building of the College is soon seen. It is a long edifice in the Doric style with two wings slightly thrown back from the main block. In the centre is the grand entrance, with a large portico supported on Corinthian columns. It was erected by the famous Mr. Wyatt, and the grounds were beautifully laid out by Bracebridge. The latter soon transformed the bare moor into a well-wooded estate, and the picturesque lake, once a mill pond, with its fringe of woods, bears silent testimony to his ability.

After crossing the bridge over the junction of the lake and the Wish stream, the county of Surrey is reached, the remainder of the College estate lying in Berkshire. On the left the road is bordered by the lake, largely dug by three militia regiments during the war scare at the beginning of the last century. They were encamped near by and were employed in converting the existing mill pond into the present lake. On the right is the high fence which borders the grounds of Government House, the residence of the Commandant of the

READING TO CHICHESTER.

College, once the local manor-house, and the property of William Pitt.

Three hundred yards further on, outside the lodge gates, is the village of Yorktown, named after the then Duke of York, which came into existence with the advent of the College. The road turns sharp to the right by the Duke of York's Hotel, and after an uninteresting couple of miles the village of Frimley, with its picturesque old inn, "The White Hart," is reached.

Beyond Frimley lies Farnborough, with a curious old church and manor-house, and the modern Abbey containing the Mausoleum of the Imperial family of France, which stands in beautifully wooded grounds.

After Farnborough comes the open ground of Cove Common, with a fine view of Caesar's Camp; Aldershot, with its Queen's Parade, Government House, and the long lines of red barracks lies in front. The road leads straight on past the grass-covered parade and polo grounds, across the Basingstoke Canal, up by the cavalry barracks, and past the huge equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington. Next follows the steep ascent of Hungry Hill, on the farther side of which there is a good run, downhill, of a couple of miles or so into the hop-covered valley of the Wey, backed by the western end of the Hog's Back and the wooded height of Crooksbury Hill.

Down in the valley lies the town of Farnham. It is an interesting place with one long street, called the Borough, its extremities being known as East and West Street respectively, and the whole is dominated by the fine old Castle, the residence of the Bishops of Winchester.

The Chichester road lies down South Street, the turning being by the Bush Hotel, familiar to readers of Edna Lyall's book *To Right the Wrong*. The church, into which Joscelyn Heyworth was led a prisoner, lies up to the right along Union Street. It is a fine building, worth a visit, possessing in the tower a carillon of bells which play "Life let us cherish" every three hours.

In Abbey Street Cobbett, the politician, was born.

Beyond Farnham the road forks. Taking the right-hand branch the road again enters a tract of pine country, winding up and down through wooded dells, once the demesne of the old Abbey of Waverley. Soon is reached the little hamlet of Ilford, known to all who have read *Sir Nigel*, by Sir Arthur

READING TO CHICHESTER.

Conan Doyle. One can almost fancy the young squire, in his father's armour, holding the old bridge over the Wey.

By the bridge stands, or stood, an ancient oak, mentioned in several medieval documents, and known successively as the King's, Novel's, and Bishop's Oak.

After Tilford the scent of the pine needles is left behind, and the way crosses the wide, heather-clad waste of Frensham Common. This country must be very like South Africa, consisting of bare treeless "kopjes" and "neks." The two great sheets of water, the Frensham ponds, lie on the right, hidden by folds of the ground, while ahead rise the three steep, conical hills, locally known as "the Devil's Jumps," and behind them again appear the tree-clad slopes of Hindhead.

It is a weary climb up to the summit of this hill, and on the top new hotels and red brick houses are very much in evidence. The view from the crest should be splendid, but at the time of the writer's visit it was marred by the driving rain and mist.

From the top of the hill into the Haslemere valley is a splendid run down. After passing Shottermill the uplands of Sussex are reached, and the road descends over several ridges into the village of Fernhurst, a locality teeming in recollections of the old smelting industry of Sussex. One, William Yaldwin, in the seventeenth century, was an ironmaster of great repute in Fernhurst, and cannon were cast in the village as late as 1770.

At Fernhurst the views of the Weald and of Henley Hill are magnificent. Past the Cylinders and over Cook's Bridge, Verdley Wood is reached, and then comes the toilsome ascent of Henley Hill. The view from the summit well repays the climb. Behind lie the Weald and the North Downs, while below stretches a wide expanse of well-wooded and fertile country, interspersed with small and pretty villages. It is said that on a clear day Ide Hill, near Sevenoaks, may be seen with a good glass.

From Henley Hill the road crosses North Heath, where, in the year 1779, Robert and William Drewet, two brothers, robbed the mail coach, for which they afterwards suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

Below North Heath lies Easebourne Workhouse, erected in 1794, and close behind it, after passing the Mill, lies the village itself.

Here there was a small nunnery founded by John de

READING TO CHICHESTER.

Bohun, and dissolved in 1535. Part of the old conventual buildings with the fishponds still remain. The church should be visited to see the imposing tomb of the first Viscount Montagu, who, after a distinguished political career, died in 1592. His house at Cowdray, or rather the remains of it, for it was burnt out in 1793, is to be seen on the left of the road just before entering Midhurst. Queen Elizabeth visited Lord Montagu here in 1591. The House, with its gray towers and ivy-clad walls, is a fine old ruin, burnt it is said, in fulfilment of a curse which had fallen on the Montagu family for having obtained lands which passed from the Church at the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

Midhurst is a quaint old town with a rather uninteresting church. There are several fine old overhanging houses which are worthy of notice, but nothing else of special mark.

Midhurst is on the extreme southern edge of the pine country. The sandy roads are left behind, and replaced by those of chalk. Ahead lie the large rounded humps of the South Downs. The first village entered is that of Cocking, where there was once another small nunnery, the church being worth a visit to see the early thirteenth-century mural decoration. After leaving Cocking the road enters a gap in the hills and then comes some switchback riding to Singleton, a pretty little village situated in a hollow. A mile further on the House and Church of West Dean are passed. From West Dean there is a downhill run of a couple of miles or so to the Lavants, two little villages on the further side of the hills. Behind them rises Roche's or Rook's Hill, generally called the "Trundle," from the fine British camp which crowns the summit. Beneath the eastern slope lies Goodwood racecourse.

The South Downs contain many evidences of British and Roman occupation, and at Kingley Vale, two miles to the west, a great battle is said to have taken place in the time of the Britons, the hill above being crowned with *tumuli*.

From Mid-Lavant there is a good straight road into Chichester, past the Barracks, the depôt of the Royal Sussex Regiment, and Greyling Wells, the County Asylum, over the Broyle, and into the city over the site of the old North Gate.

From the old North Walls to the fine old market-cross, reared in 1500, is a very short way, and here in the centre of the town, about fifty-five miles from Reading, our ride terminates.

A PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION ON THE BANKS OF THE THAMES.

BY ALEXANDER J. PHILIP.

WITHOUT going back to the geological beginning of the world, or even to the violent volcanic disturbances that have altered the face of Europe, it may be said that many centuries before the coming of the Romans to Britain the waters of the Thames estuary spread much farther inland than they do at present. There is no doubt that even during the Roman period the low-lying grazing lands that are found on both sides of the river (in Kent from the Medway to Woolwich, and on the Essex bank from Leigh to Barking Creek) were under water. The river wall and many miles of field drains have reclaimed thousand of acres, although occasionally even this wall, better described I think as a dyke, has proved insufficient to resist the pressure of the volume of water brought up by an exceptionally high tide when met by the downward rush of the flood water drainage of the upper reaches.

Windmill Hill stood out as a prominent landmark, overlooking the wide stretch of the river that lay almost stagnant in the shallow backwaters below the small hills on the opposite shore, while Northfleet Creek was scarcely distinguishable from the river. Lapped by the tidal wavelets on three sides, the hill was the most striking headland, the only natural watch-tower within easy distance of the city in the marshes, as London was then called, if we accept the theory of one school of historians.

It is not necessary to picture the "coracles of these peaceful savages lying in the rushes, and their owners fishing for a precarious livelihood in the shallow lagoons." However interesting this may be in school primers and story books, it would appear to be but a small portion of the truth; and an insipid, pale, and flat picture of a commercial people, able and willing to defend themselves from those of their own kind; with a courage only limited by the inadequacy of their weapons.

The loose way in which such historical terms as "the Stone Age," "the Bronze Age," etc., are used, often suggests that these periods in the world's development ended abruptly as



Flint Implements found at Gravesend.

THE BANKS OF THE THAMES.

each new one opened. Such is not the case; even the terms themselves are but the arbitrary namings of modern times. Just as the latest machine lathe may be in use in the same workshop side by side with the adze that has not varied much for centuries, so horn and stone and bronze were in use side by side in the same village for many hundreds of years, possibly used by the same men, who would have no idea that the implements they held in their hands would come to be the symbols of two ages in the long evolution of their race.

It appeared necessary to make these remarks as a simple explanation of the very broad lines on which the picture of this early civilization is drawn. Whether or not it will be possible, at any time, to do more than this for the very small tract of country we are considering, I do not know; but without drawing upon one's fancy, as distinct from the imagination, it is not possible to do so now.

The discovery of a large field of flints at Northfleet, from which thousands of specimens have been taken already, close to the chalk surface, points to the locality having been the centre of an important and highly specialized factory. The flints, almost without exception, are of the "flake" variety and are of a warlike nature. If the situation had been the scene of a sanguinary battle in which many thousands of warriors met their deaths there would have been other evidence in the form of human bones, or weapons of another description, or horn handles; and the disposal of the flints themselves would have been unequivocal proof. In the absence of all these it is reasonable to suppose that this was the site of a great factory of flint weapons. These flints are being safely preserved, and their number makes it clear that the industry was a large one, giving employment to a considerable number of workers, who found their homes on the slopes of the hills of Gravesend and Swanscombe, and on the Brent at Dartford.

This picture immediately opens up the whole vista of the civilization of these ancients. If the flints were for the use of the men of the town that preceded Gravesend, there must have been a strong body of warriors, so numerous a body, in fact, as to be worthy of the designation of an army; while if the flints were for the purpose of trade, there must have been a considerable number of merchants, or, if the trade was the monopoly of a powerful chief, he must have had many subjects. In either case there were many who were pledged to a life of agricultural field work, either men or women, or both,

A PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION ON

the presence of the one pre-supposing the existence of the other. Whichever way the subject is approached there appears to be no room for doubt that this part of Kent, with Gravesend for its centre, was the home of a busy and powerful community, having some knowledge of the art of war and the science of agriculture.

It will be observed that I refer only to this district. This is necessary because, in the first place, I am not attempting the impossible task of depicting the many varied grades of civilization spread over a country impassable in places and separated by distances magnified a thousand times by the difficulty of travel: and, it is very generally agreed that the difference between the manners of the town dwellers and the agricultural labourers of the present was much greater in degree in the past; and finally, it is now almost unquestioned that the standard of the civilization of the men of the south was higher than that of the northern dwellers in our country in pre-historic times.

To return however. The belief that this was at one time the centre of a warlike tribe is supported by the number and strength of the Roman stations, villas, and other works erected near by.

The existence of an army points to a need for it; for the presence of something worth protecting. There are only two things worth this in any age, the one, life; the other, property. In fact, unless in the case of the precious metals and jewels, there must be life where there is property, and the larger the property so much greater must be the abundance of life. This is true at the present, but in these bygone ages when property—corn in its various forms and the fruits of the chase—was produced by the infinite labour of many hands this was still more the case.

Windmill Hill, and the country to the south and beyond the waters on the east and west, was the scene of a busy commercial people who, as I have said, were able and willing to protect themselves, their families, and their property from the inroads of neighbouring tribes and the possible, but unlikely, assaults of foreign tribes and peoples.

This is not all the evidence on which this picture of a small part of the ancient civilization of our country is drawn. On the south-east slope of Windmill Hill a superb example of a dene hole was discovered, from which it was possible by successive careful steps in the deductive process to verify the



Casts of cuts made by metal picks; not obtainable as holes.



Casts of pick-holes, Stone Court Dene-hole.



Casts of pick-holes, Singewell Road Dene-hole.

THE BANKS OF THE THAMES.

previous hypotheses and consolidate the picture. This example of the art of early man has been described elsewhere,¹ but it will be necessary to refer briefly to some of its features. Other examples of dene holes have been found on the Kentish bank of the river Thames and a few on the Essex side. Some of these are undoubtedly modern chalk pits or wells; unfortunately, all too frequently, they have been confused with the true examples, with the result that, with the discovery of the fraudulent nature of the former the latter have been included in the wholesale rejection of the entire field of research affected by one school of antiquaries. This is quite as contrary to the methods of the careful study of the principles of history as the unhesitating acceptance of such pits as those in the Chislehurst Caves has been shown to be.

For many years there was a lack of exact method in the examination and registration of the data found in these pits; and the general statements and haphazard guesses of both parties for and against the possibility of the existence of pits in prehistoric times has obscured the real issue. It is unquestioned that as late as the nineteenth century, and in some remote agricultural districts at the present time, chalk wells were sunk here and there in the fields by the farmer for the purpose of obtaining chalk for his land; it is also unquestioned that block chalk was utilized for building purpose. An example of eleventh century chalk building still stands within easy distance of the place in which I am writing. But it is childish to suggest that the builder sank a shaft sixty feet deep to secure hard chalk, when the blocks the workmen cut from the "bull head" were too large to pass through the narrow funnel-like opening that was the only exit from, or entrance to, the chamber at the bottom. They were not flint workings, because, in some, there have been found no traces of flint deposits, and where these have been found there is no evidence that they were pursued. The suggestion that the shape is due to the length of "run" of a barrow, or the "throw" of a spade, is more ingenious than sound, because examples of all shapes have been found at different times, in at least one of which a barrow of any kind would have been quite impossible.

These theories—they can be regarded as nothing more, unsupported as they are by any corroborative evidence applicable to even the greater number of known examples—were ad-

¹ *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. xi, p. 91 *et seq.*

A PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION ON

vanced by the Rev. Mr. Hayes at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Association.

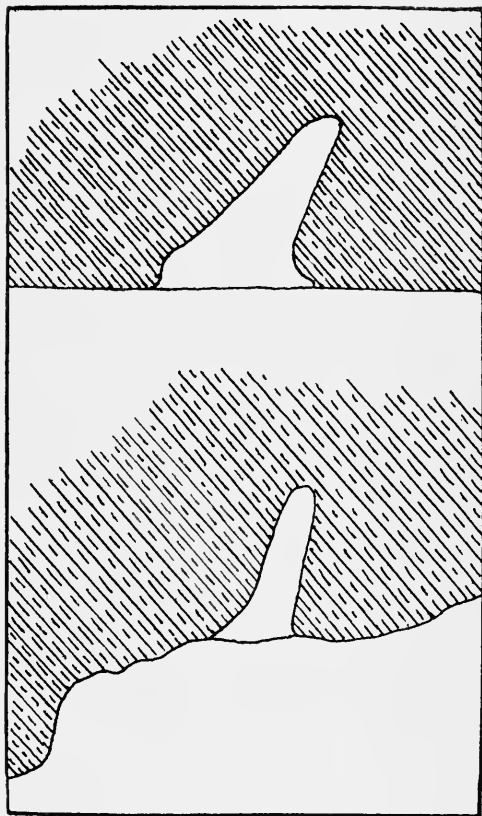
So far this has been destructive evidence, or, at the best, evidence of a nugatory kind, resting on insufficient knowledge and a rejection of evidence admissible in every respect.

Dene holes, from accounts appearing in the works of Spurrell and others, have been found at frequent though irregular intervals on the south or Kentish side of the river. Some of these dated from the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries; others appear to be genuine prehistoric excavations. A number of those still existing I have personally examined. But I do not know one, with any substantial claim to antiquity, that is not on a hillside within easy distance of running water, which, at the period of which I am writing, was almost certainly navigable for some of the larger craft of the time.

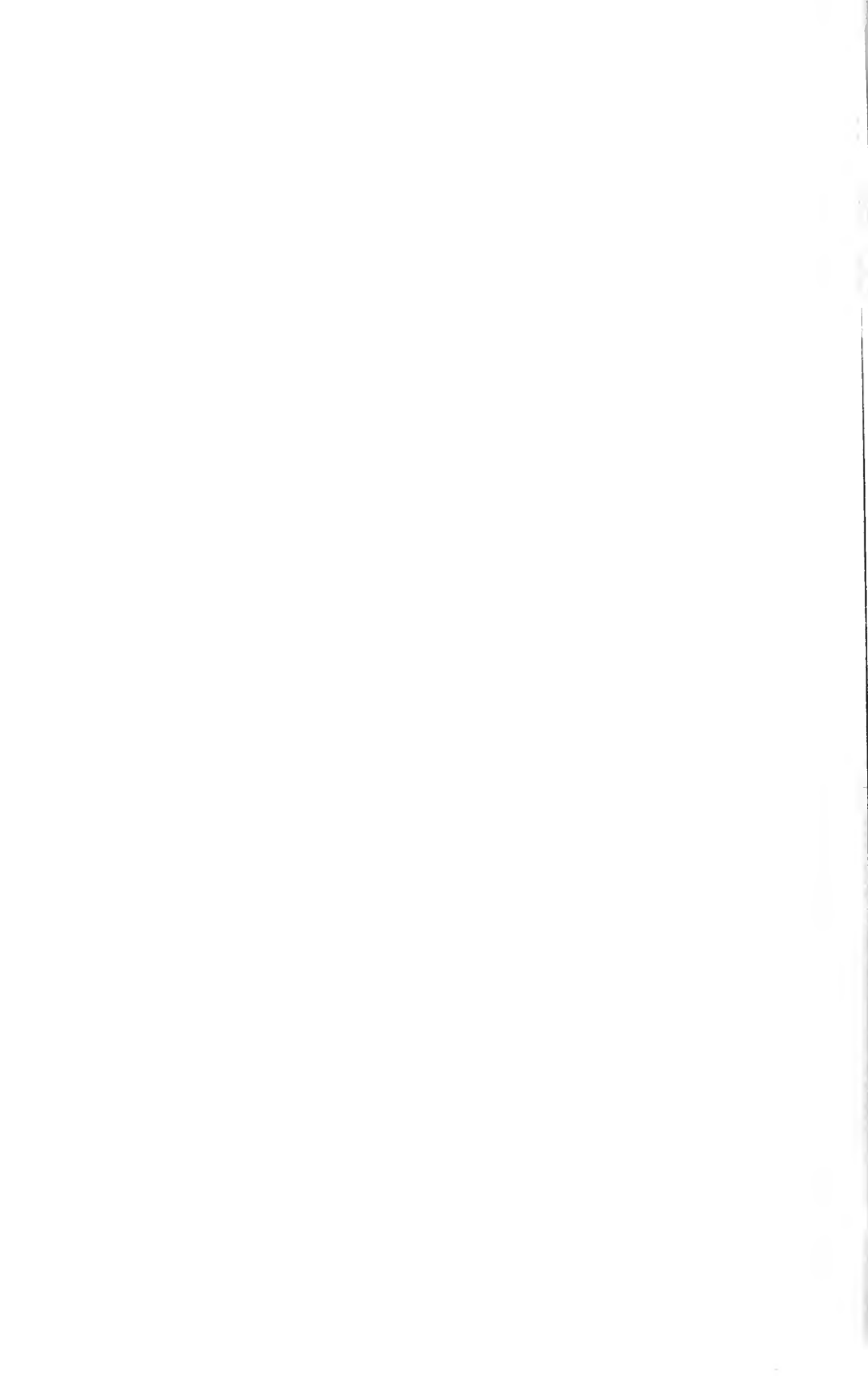
To descend from the general to the particular, however, from the dene holes between London and Gravesend to the Gravesend twin-chamber dene hole already mentioned, it is worth remarking that, so far, I have not been able to identify any example of the genuine dene hole to the east of the town, although I have pursued rumours in various places, from the Higham Marshes to the Medway, and even in Margate, without any success beyond the discovery of a disused well. It would be rash to say that a dene hole could not be found there, but it is at least unlikely. The reasons for this will appear shortly.

The twin-chamber dene hole was situated high up on the brow of the hill. Roughly the shaft leading to the chalk chamber was sixty feet deep, although the same chalk could have been found in the lower land around at a slight depth. And as the chalk bed here is about a hundred feet deep still more solid material might have been obtained with less labour. Like most dene holes this was nearly filled in with the gradual subsidence of the sides and the earth and loam from the top. A large portion was cleared out, however, and the following relics were discovered. On the top were the bones of small animals of the dog tribe; a little below the surface of the body of sand that filled the chambers oyster shells were found. Lower down still, a piece of Roman tile was discovered, while almost on the floor level and some feet below the lowest point of the surface of the loam deposit two perfect examples of flint implements were found.

From this it would appear that there cannot possibly be any



Sections through pick-holes.
Dene-hole, Singlewell Road, Gravesend.



THE BANKS OF THE THAMES.

room for questioning the antiquity of the excavation. In a dene hole elsewhere, not above suspicion however, the remains of an old horn lantern, of a kind common to the watchmen of our grandfathers' time, were found *on the top* of the debris. So that even if it were not otherwise known it would be obvious that the falling of earth was a very gradual process. From whatever point of view the presence of these flint tools and Roman tile in the Gravesend dene hole are regarded, it is incontrovertible that the dene hole must have been in existence before the flints were left there. Coincidence, however marvellous it may be in other respects, cannot by any means be made to account for all things. These two flints are included in the illustrations of specimens of different periods found at Gravesend and in the neighbouring district.

As though this evidence were not sufficient the Gravesend twin-chamber dene hole offers further, and, if that were possible, still more incontrovertible evidence in the pick-marks on the walls. Diagrams of sections of two of the most frequent forms of these were specially drawn for me from sketches made on the spot, and are reproduced here. Repeated efforts with metal picks, of many shapes and under varying conditions, have failed to produce anything similar; the shock of the swinging blow has always served to shatter the chalk, whether that of the solid wall or a loose block, before a hole of any appreciable depth could be formed. The photographs of the plaster casts taken from these pick-holes will serve to illustrate the difference between the picks with which these holes were made and the metal picks of later periods. While the page of horn implements, all found in the neighbourhood, and now in the care of the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers Limited, presents an interesting corollary, the significance of which cannot be lost sight of. And it must not be forgotten that though the ingenuity of the opponents of the belief in the age of these prehistoric excavations may be able to find some explanation of isolated phenomena, no suggestion has been put forward yet that will meet all the circumstances of the case.

The shape of the caves at Gravesend is important for several reasons, one of them, that it shows the impossibility of the wheelbarrow theory. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the details of the controversy that has raged intermittently amongst archaeologists and antiquaries for the last forty or more years, the meaning of the "wheelbarrow-

A PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION ON

run" theory may be explained. A very common form of dene hole or pseudo dene hole (as it is now certain that this form has been adopted in comparatively recent years) is that which has been described as the double trefoil, or six-chambered cave, on account of the shape of the chamber or series of chambers at the foot of the shaft. Radiating from a common centre there are six caverns, chambers, or extended arms of the one main chamber. The so-called wheelbarrow theory is that the excavators pushed out from the centre, carrying the hewn chalk in their barrows to the foot of the shaft, and that the length of the burrows they made in this way was the length of the distance they would use the barrow. While one is forced to admit that there might be something to be said to substantiate the theory, it is difficult to understand why the chambers vary in size and shape in the same dene hole, and in one dene hole when compared with another, and still more why all dene holes are not round as they would be if this theory were carried to its logical conclusion. It is quite sufficient to point out, however, that this form is not by any means general; as already stated, the Gravesend twin-chamber offered no means of using a wheelbarrow, even if it had been found possible to get a wheelbarrow down this or any other dene hole shaft. Not only was this the case at Gravesend in the twin-chamber cave, but the shape showed an intention in its making.

It is necessary to refer to this dene hole always as the twin-chamber, or the Singlewell Road dene hole, because numerous dene holes have been found round about, although they were not possessed of the interest of this, and are now only to be read of in scattered writings.

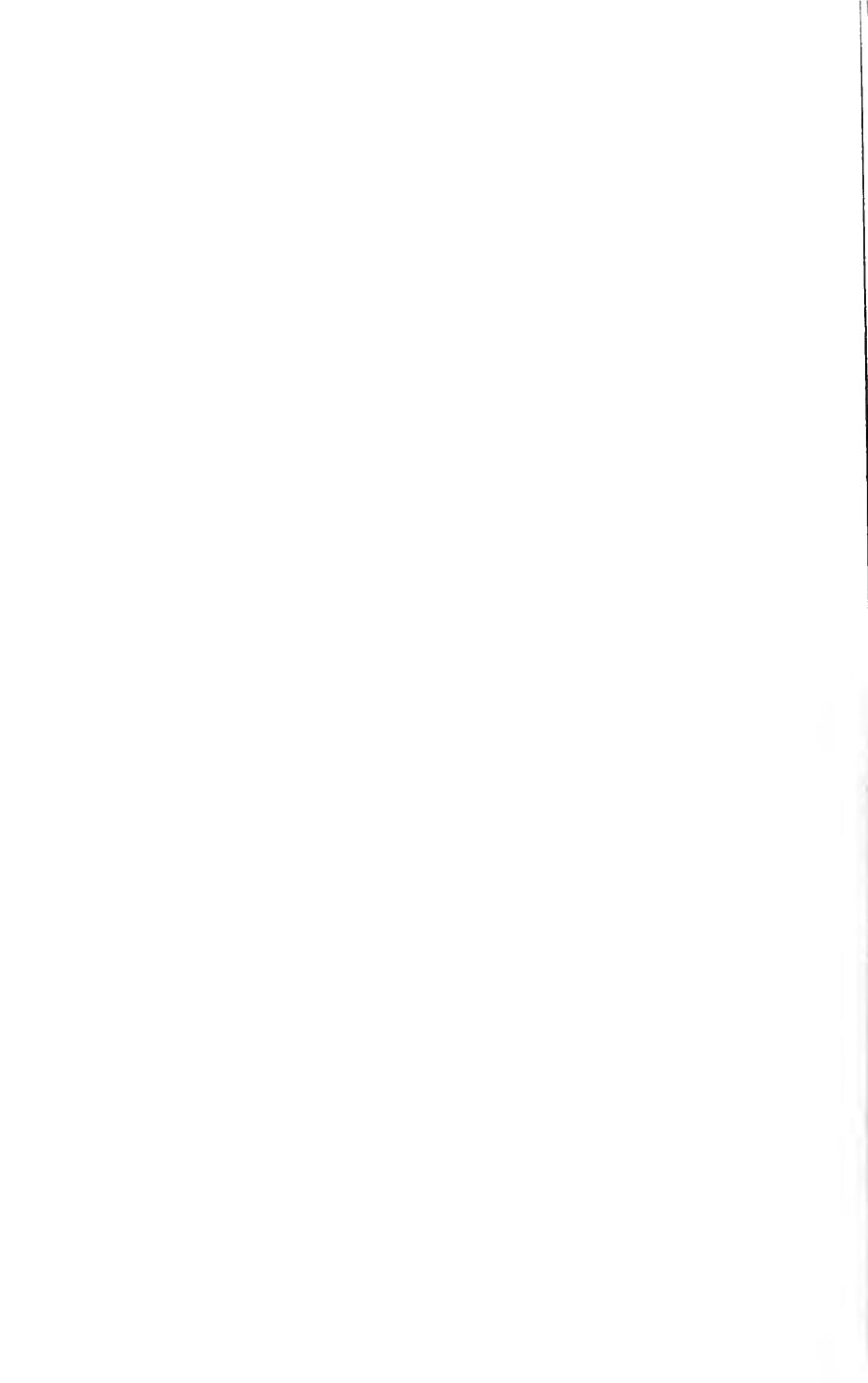
This dene hole was divided into two chambers by a wall of chalk left standing, roughly in the centre, beneath the original shaft, with an entrance additional to the top, opening from the one room to the other.

We have now arrived at a point when the result of this cumulative data may be profitably set out. The case might have been first set out and the evidence then made to fit, but that is not satisfactory from any standpoint. So far it appears safe to say that the evidence and the arguments derived from it are incontrovertible.

There must obviously have been some cogent reason why this and other dene holes are situated on rising land near running water of some considerable depth. It might be said that



Horn Picks dug up in the neighbourhood of Gravesend.



THE BANKS OF THE THAMES.

they served as refuges from the gigantic animals that are known to have existed at some early date contemporaneous with the peoples who used the stone implements already described. But this is highly improbable. The reasons against the suggestion are too numerous to detail, and it will be sufficient to point out that there was no compulsion on the ancient Briton to reside so close to the water, and the absence of real dene holes inland shows that this danger, if danger there was, existed only at the water's edge. Moreover the known dene holes are much more elaborate than would have been necessary for a place of temporary escape from some wild animal. While the few dene holes found would form such hopelessly inadequate provision for the numerous colony I have shown existed here, that it is useless looking to the undiscovered dene holes to increase the provision adequately. And lastly, the warlike tribe, the makers of deadly flint weapons, literally by the hundredweight, would no doubt have freed the wide river waters of regular pests, and dene hole refuges would be unnecessary against rare and unforeseen attacks from an amphibian enemy that had lost its way from the sea.

The only explanation reasonable and consistent that can be offered, is that these caves were situated on a hillside above navigable streams so that something might be readily and expeditiously conveyed to the water or to vessels on the water. This something may have been corn, meat, edible provisions, or general merchandise. From certain marks on the roof of the twin-chamber dene hole it appears likely that in this case it was corn. The care with which the cave was fashioned made it obvious that its use was a permanent or recurrent one; and the absence of any remains, sepulchral or mercantile, in this and most other dene holes of any age, serves to show that the material stored there, whatever its nature, was perishable. From these two factors it follows that there was urgent need for a quick transit from the hillside of corn or other produce to the river side. From the nature of this and other dene holes it is obvious that the material was stored here for some time before being transferred. And, as the point was near the water, and supplies could be drawn only, in all probability, from the south and south-east and south-west the produce must have been drawn from a considerable area.

It is to be feared that these few pages have dealt rather too much with the dene hole theories, but not more so than was necessary for the clear presentation of the subject; and the

A PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION ON

amount of dene hole information, fact, and theory, is infinitesimal when compared with the amount available. I hope, however, that nothing really germane has been omitted, and that, while no point has been laboured, nothing has been left obscure.

The material remains of the Danish occupation of the country, and to a still greater extent of the Norman conquerors, are plentiful and unmistakable: this, after a thousand years. The remains of the Romans, nearly two thousand years ago, are for the most part buried, and are consequently discovered at comparatively rare intervals. It can only be supposed that the materials in use at earlier days have been buried in much the same way, and that the burial has been followed by the natural destruction of all but the most impervious materials. Under these circumstances it cannot be expected that the picture of this extinct civilization on the banks of the Thames at Gravesend should be a perfect one. It has been shown, however, that enough material remains to construct, or reconstruct, much of the life at this spot in bygone times. The knowledge of the use of flint implements and the value attached to them is a modern discovery, and it is fair to assume that the future study of the subject will produce still greater results than those of the past.

Windmill Hill probably marked the centre of the tribe's activity; away towards Northfleet and Swanscombe Hill was the flint factory, fed by material obtained from the shallow dene holes and other cuttings in Essex and at Stone and in Swanscombe itself. Throughout the year, possibly for longer periods than one year, the crops were sown and gathered and stored in bulk as a general "bank" of the community, but more probably as personal property, in the dene holes. It may be that pelts or other animal produce formed part of these early exports, but this is scarcely likely in view of the permanence of the dene holes here and their absence in other districts where they might have been used as *caches* on hunting expeditions. At long intervals the expected foreign ships would have been sighted away down the river reaches, below the miniature cliff on which Southend is built, and across the chalk rise of Cliffe, and immediately the whole camp would be a scene of bustling confusion.

It appears to be probable that this was regarded as a provision station on the way to more distant ports by the ships of the greater nations of the period; and it may have been

THE BANKS OF THE THAMES.

that there were overseers, or a factor, in the pay of the foreigners. But I prefer to think of the people of the country as their own merchants, sufficiently advanced to be able to accumulate the fruit of their labour, to keep a tally, and to barter it to strangers.

On the arrival of the stranger ships the covering of the dene hole, and the encrusted top of the threshed corn, would be removed; and the men, possibly of a servile caste, or the women of the tribes, would descend by means of stemples, fill their rush baskets or skin bags and return to the wharf or quay. Another method of emptying the holes in a hurry—and their situation leaves no room for doubt that they had to be emptied in a hurry—was by means of a rope and a basket or bag which was let down to be filled by the workers at the bottom, in much the same way that coaling is still carried out on some vessels, and mortar or bricks carried to the building height on new erections. The lading of the small ships would occupy but a short time by either of these methods, and it appears unlikely that the vessels remained longer than they found necessary amongst a people less polished than themselves. Because, although I have endeavoured to show that the civilization of our ancestors was of a much higher standard than is generally supposed, there cannot be any doubt that they were yet barbarous and rude savages lacking much of the finish of say, the Phoenicians, the Egyptians, or the Romans. What the medium of exchange was one cannot say. Roughly, however, the partially civilized savage covets most new foods, strange drinks, and better weapons. The latter would be refused them in case they were turned against the voyagers themselves; the two former were easily consumed; so also would have been clothing and flimsy ornaments, if our own methods of trading with savage races in modern times had been followed. It is likely enough that a wild carouse followed the departure of the foreign fleet—and then the slow accumulation of further supplies commenced.

The difficulty experienced in the portrayal of this picture in the history of Gravesend, the lack of record either written or to be read in the country's monuments or the remains of the people, is not met with to the same extent in future periods.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—“Prehistoric Civilization on the Banks of the Thames” is the first of a series of articles describing the history of Gravesend in Kent, and the surrounding district, from the obscure distance of some thousands of years to the nineteenth century. There is no excuse needed or apology required for describ-

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

ing *in extenso* one of the most interesting phases of topographical antiquity as found in the outpost town of what has always been the natural, commercial, and social centre of the country. The progressive tableaux, if I may call them so, will commence with the picture of prehistoric life of the ancient inhabitants; to be followed by that of the Roman occupation; the third period will be that when the Danish and Roman invaders made their homes at Swanscombe and Darton; the next period in the kaleidoscopic history will be the long series of years to the end of the eighteenth century; the last tableau, the nineteenth century, will depict the rise and fall of Gravesend as one of the most popular resorts of the time. While every effort will be made to verify all the statements, and nothing will be sacrificed to the "popular form," this "popular form" will be always in view, as it is not conceivable that history must be always uninteresting.

I shall esteem it a favour if any of my readers who may have unique records of any kind relating to the town or the surrounding districts, more particularly in regard to the place Gravesend took in the organized system of smuggling that spread over the whole of Kent and some of the neighbouring counties, will communicate with me.

NOTES ON THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

BY C. W. FORBES, Member of the Essex
Archaeological Society.

[Continued from vol. xii, p. 304.]

ROCHFORD.

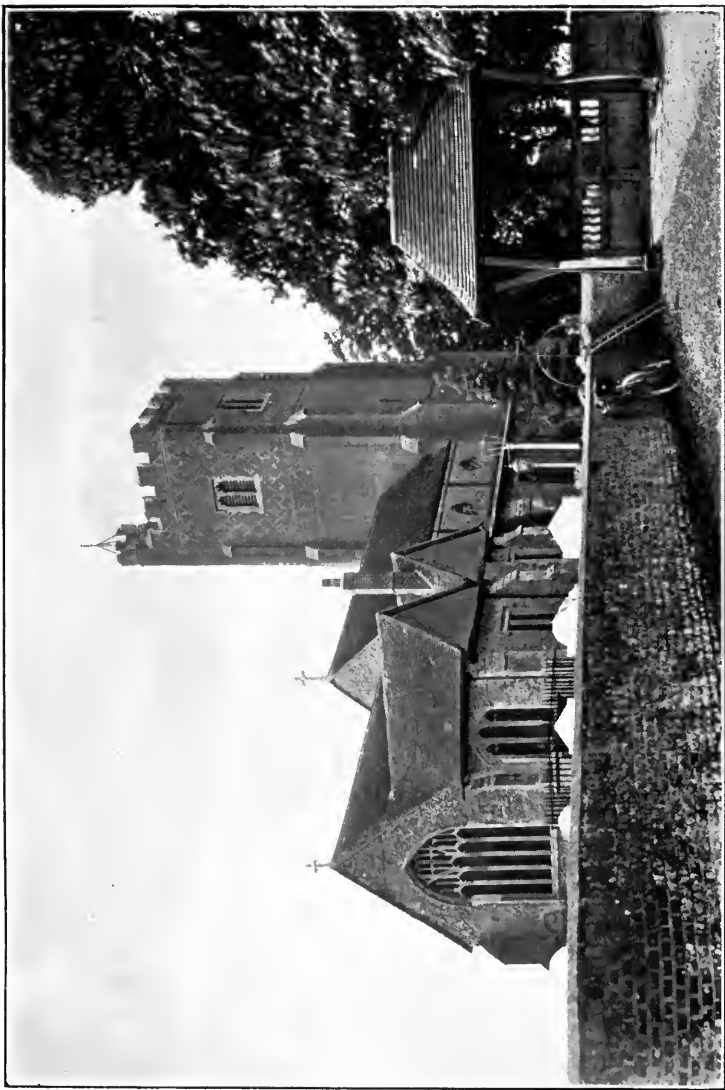
ROCHFORD is an ancient town consisting of four streets of irregular houses; it is approached from the western end by a very picturesque avenue of trees, a quarter of a mile long.

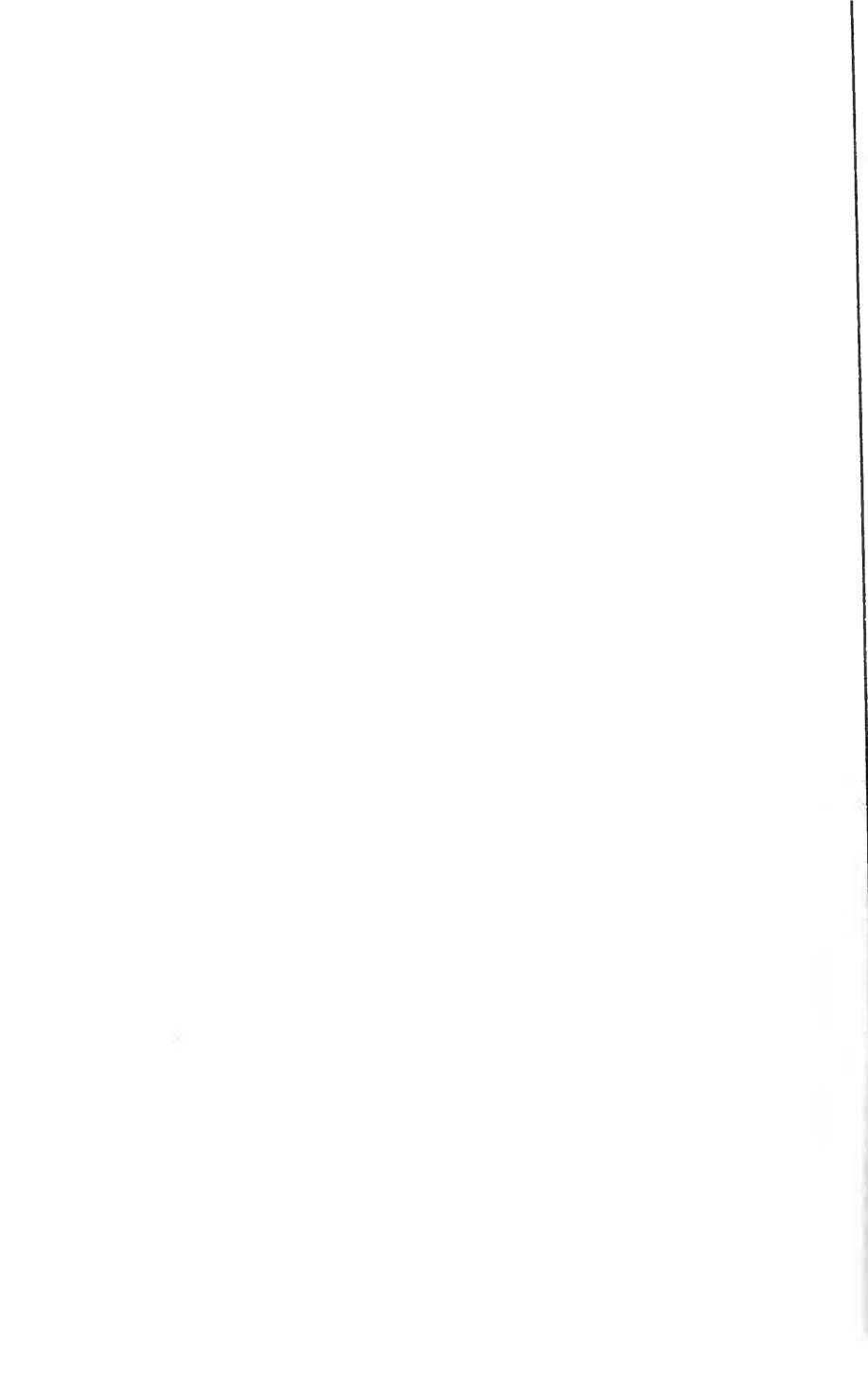
The church is situated some little distance to the north-west of the town; it is a building of brick and stone built in the early part of the fourteenth century. Although there is now no record of an earlier structure, it is evident from a coped gravestone with a floriated cross, which lies outside the north wall, that a church existed here prior to the present building.

The structure as we see it to-day consists of a chancel, nave with north and south aisles, a vestry with a modern organ chamber attached, a south porch, and a massive, lofty, embattled tower at the western end, containing three bells.

The tower is built of red brick interlaced with diaper work in black; the walls are very thick, and it is thought by some that a smaller tower of the fourteenth century may have been encased. Over the Perpendicular doorway on the west side is a shield with the arms of Thomas Boteler (seventh Earl of

Rochford Church.
Photo. by C. W. Forbes.





THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

Ormond, a fess indented), who, it is stated, built the tower when living at Rochford House, about the end of the fifteenth century.

The north door into the nave is filled in. The south door is covered by a fine stone embattled porch in the late Perpendicular style, with a double-light window on each side; at each angle of the interior is a stone corbel, showing that it was at one time intended to have had a groined vaulting. Both north and south doorways are in the Decorated style.

The nave is divided from the aisles by two octagonal pillars on each side, with moulded caps.

The north aisle had originally four double-light fourteenth-century windows, two on the side and one at each end; the glazing of the window at the eastern end was taken out when the organ chamber was built between the aisle and the vestry. The south aisle was evidently erected at a little later date; the pillars on the south side are built of a different stone, the workmanship is finer, and the window at the west end is late Decorated work.

The early fourteenth-century structure consisted of a nave, north aisle, and chancel only, afterwards the south aisle was added; extensive alterations appear to have been made at the time the tower was erected, the south porch and vestry were built at this period, probably at the cost of the same benefactor.

On the south side the windows are modern restorations in the same style as those in the north aisle; the window, however, at the east end of the south aisle is Perpendicular. The piscina at this end shows that it was used as a chapel; it is surmised that it belonged to the Ormond family.

There were at one time two openings between the south aisle and the chancel; one now blocked up is believed to have been for the stairs to the rood; the other, which was formerly a hagioscope, has been opened out with a lofty arch into the chancel.

The east window of the chancel is a fine five-light one of the Perpendicular period.

The chancel arch and the arch between the chancel and the organ chamber are modern.

In the north chancel wall is an original stone doorway of the fourteenth century, and also an oblong opening; as this wall was, prior to the building of the vestry at the end of the fifteenth century, the exterior wall, this opening is believed to have been a squint, as it looks direct on to the altar; it is now

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

boarded up and used as a cupboard. Between the nave and the tower is a high red-brick archway.

In 1862 three stained-glass windows were inserted in the chancel, and in 1887 the east window was filled with stained glass; at the last restoration in 1890 the organ chamber was built at the end of the north aisle.

About the middle of the nineteenth century the walls of the nave were considerably heightened, a new roof was put on, and three circular clerestory windows inserted on each side.

The font is a modern pedestal one. There are now no monuments of any note; there is one small brass in the nave, a female figure with a Latin inscription: "Here lies Maria Dilcock who died 13th December, 1514."

Salmon, an old writer, says: "In the east window are the Arms of Bohun." Humphrey Bohun, the last one, died in 1372; his widow, who survived him for some time, married for her third husband, James Boteler, fourth Earl of Ormond.

ROCHFORD HALL.

The remains of this ancient mansion are on the other side of the green, almost opposite the west end of the church. We have direct information that this estate belonged to Thomas Boteler, Earl of Ormond, who was attainted and forfeited this estate; the attainder was reversed on the accession of Henry VII in 1485. The Earl lived here until 1515. There are several opinions as to who was the builder of this hall; but as we know that Thomas Boteler, seventh Earl of Ormond, erected the church tower, we may safely attribute the building of Rochford Hall to him, the architecture of the hall and church tower being of the same period.

Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards Lord Rochford, is credited with living here, and it is stated to be the birthplace and abode of Anne Boleyn, also of Robert, third Baron Rich, who was created Earl of Warwick in 1618; a room is still shown in which Anne Boleyn was believed to have been born.

The hall was considerably enlarged and beautified by its successive owners, but at the present time is very much dilapidated and has considerably fallen from its high estate. The front portion is now in the hands of a golf club; another portion is, I believe, occupied by a farm bailiff.

The almshouses at Rochford were founded by Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, for six poor people.



Rochford Hall.
Photo. by C. W. Forbes.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

In this district was held the "Lawless or Whispering Court," a tribunal established in pursuance of a singular manorial tenure. The court was held in the open air, on King's Hill, adjoining the town, on the first Wednesday after old Michaelmas Day at midnight or between that hour and cockcrow; the steward opened the court in as low a voice as possible, and all absentees were heavily fined, or subjected to other forfeits; the whole business was transacted in whispers, minutes being made with a piece of charcoal in place of pen and ink.

RAYLEIGH.

Rayleigh is a town situated about seven miles north-west from Southend on the higher London Road, which runs through Brentwood, Wickford, and Rochford.

The manor of Rayleigh, according to the Domesday Book, was given to Suene by William the Conqueror, with the title of Baron of Rayleigh, etc. The first information we have of a church here is that Robert, his son, gave the advowson, along with gifts from his manor, to the Priory at Prittlewell, which was built and endowed by him for Cluniac monks. This proves that there must have been a church in existence here prior to the erection of one in the early part of the fourteenth century. Of this fourteenth-century structure very little now remains; the building, as we see it to-day, is principally of the Perpendicular period. It consists of a chancel, with north and south chantry chapels, nave, north and south aisles, a west tower, and a south porch.

The tower is a massive square structure of Kentish ragstone, with an embattled parapet; the west door and the three-light window above it are excellent specimens of Perpendicular work. Above this doorway there are seven shields, now very much weather-worn and defaced. On one of them could be seen up till a few years back the arms of the de Veres, Earls of Oxford; it is stated in ancient documents that Richard II gave to Aubrey de Vere, tenth Earl of Oxford, "the fair and market of Rayleigh, with the profits of Rayleigh Park, etc." This Earl died in 1400, and the manor with its rights came into the possession of the Duke of York. From this we may safely assume that the tower was built about the end of the fourteenth century.

The tower now contains eight bells, the tenor weighing

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

14 cwt.; two of them are pre-Reformation, and are inscribed: *Sancta Margareta, Ora pro nos [sic]* and *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum*.

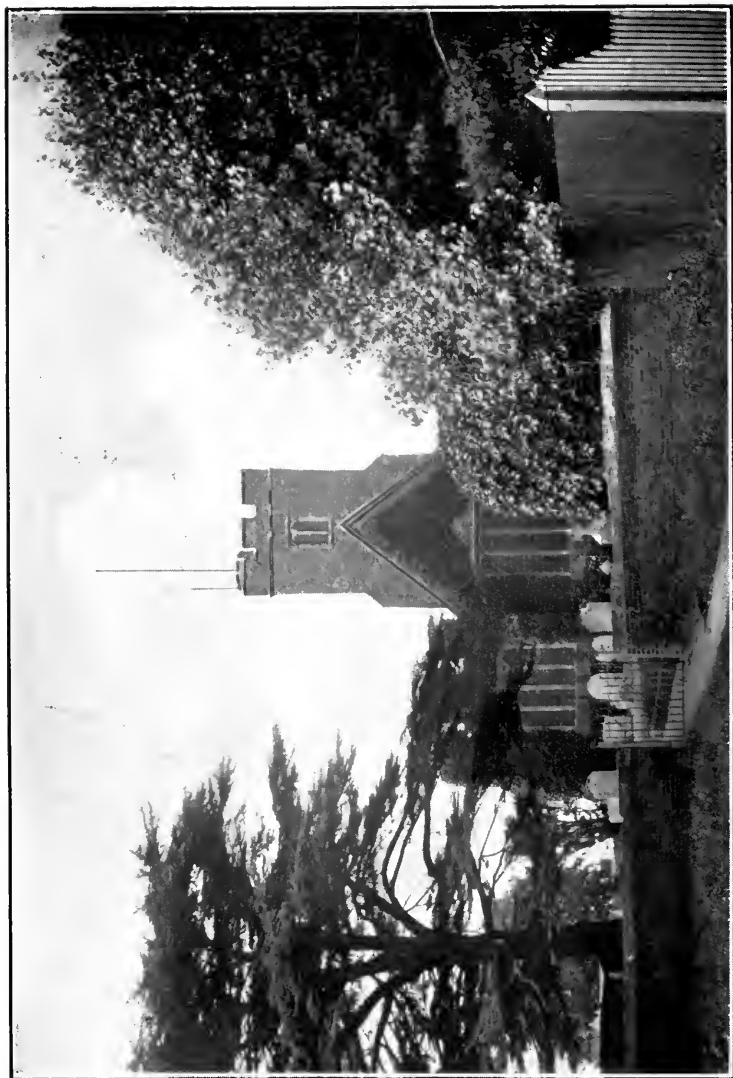
The two doorways on the north and south sides leading into the nave belong to the earlier church of the fourteenth century; the north doorway now leads into a vestry; the south doorway, which is the chief entrance into the church, is covered by a handsome decorated red-brick porch, with an embattled roof; it was at one time vaulted, but is now plastered over; the side windows, and also a niche over the entrance, have been bricked up; the floor is paved with fragments of stone of ancient memorials.

The nave is divided from the aisles by four arches on each side, supported by slender fluted perpendicular columns; the reveals supporting the chancel arch are octagonal, and form part of the original structure.

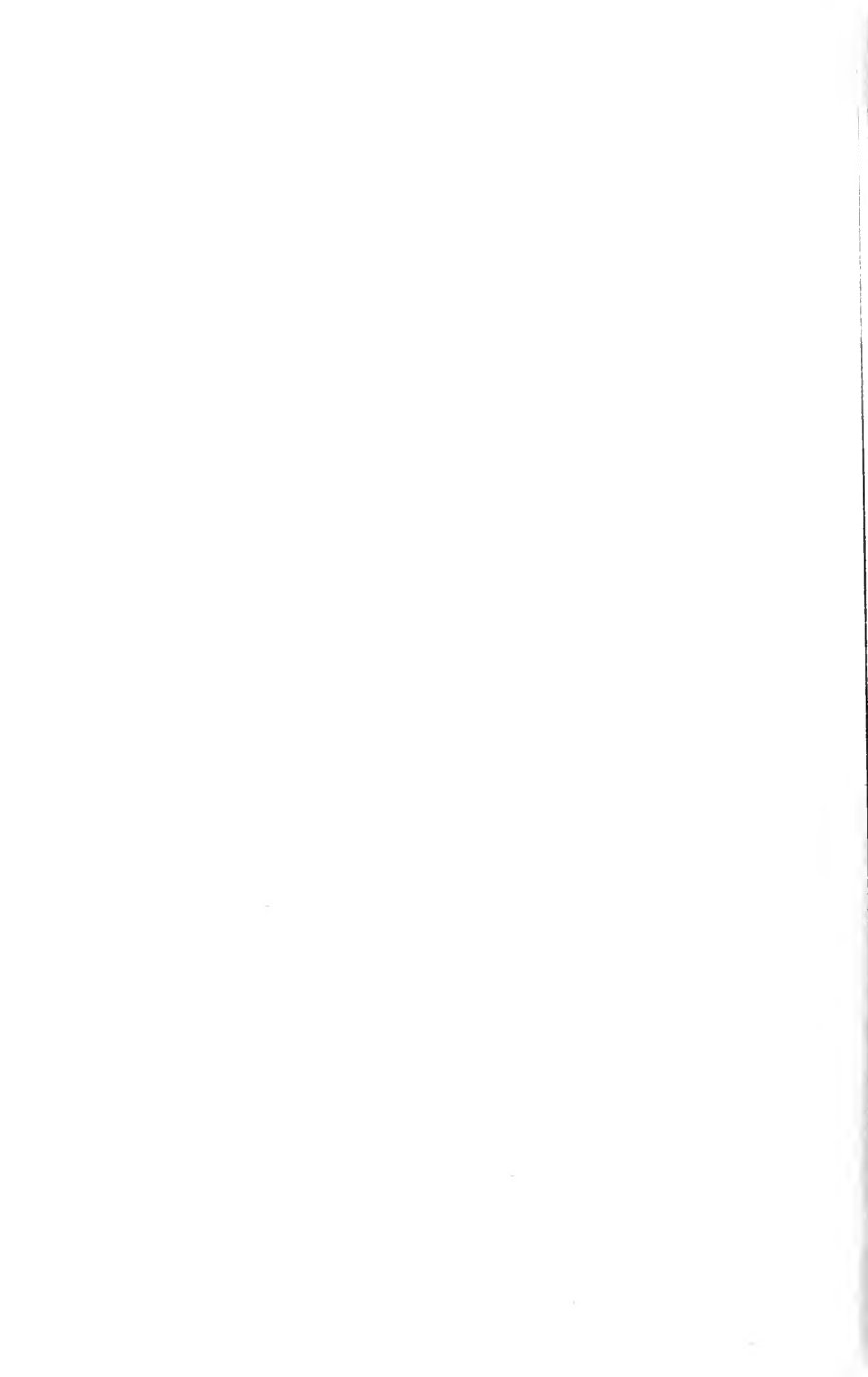
In the floor at the west end of the nave is the top stone of a tomb, containing a mutilated brass; the inscription is lost, but it is surmised to be that of John Barrington (died 1416) and his wife (died 1420); this John Barrington was keeper of the King's Park, a large tract of forest land and a portion of the royal hunting grounds. The north chapel is believed to have been built by him as a chantry chapel, the architecture being of this period; it is divided from the chancel by a small arcade of two arches, supported by a slender pillar. The east window, a four-light perpendicular one with fine tracery, is the best in the church. On the south side is a piscina. Two tombs, one with the arms of Barrington on it, and the other with the brass referred to above, stood in this chantry until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The south or Alen chapel was added in 1517 by order of a wealthy resident named William Alen; it is built on a similar scale to that on the north side; oak has been used instead of stone in the dividing arch, probably due to the difficulty in transit. The beautiful tomb now to be seen there is to one of his sons, Richard Alen, reputed to have been the builder of this chantry in accordance with the wishes of his father expressed in his will. The tomb is now much mutilated, the figures are all gone, but the decorative work on the canopy is still in a very good state of preservation. There is now no trace whatever of the tomb of the father, William Alen.

The ceiling was once adorned with coats of arms of the de Vere and Howard families. The walls are built of ragstone



Rayleigh Church.
Photo. by C. W. Forbes.



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

and flint arranged in chequer work. There are no other monuments left in the church of any particular note.

The font is modern; a fragment of an ancient font of square construction, with arcading work, was discovered by the present Rector some time back; it is now to be seen near the entrance to the vestry.

Among the church plate is a chalice, dated 1683, with the inscription: *Ex sumptibus Parochiae de Rayleigh in usum Ecclesiae Sanctae Trinitatis.*

Restorations materially altering the interior of the church took place in 1711, 1800, and 1840.

There is a curious old alms chest in the church, 36 in. by 19 in. by 19 in., made out of one block of oak, and fastened by three locks; for additional security it also had at one time a ring and chain for attachment to a wall.

Among the inventories of church goods drawn up by the Commissioners in the reign of Edward VI, dated October 1552, and now preserved in the Public Record Office, is one relating to Rayleigh. The document is endorsed with a statement permitting the use of certain goods and vestments in the church.

From the inventory it is seen that the church of Rayleigh in 1553 possessed the following:

One crosse of sylver gilt & anelyd, wayeing lxxi ounces & iij quarters.

Two chaleses of sylver gylt & ij patents, wayeing xxij ounces and a half.

One pix of sylver & a little pece of sylver, parcell gilt, wayeing ij ounces.

Fyve gret bells, wayeing by estymacyon lx hundred.

One saunce bell & a hand bell, wayeing by estⁿ lxx pounds.

One grene canopy of cloth, of a satten a bridges.

One vestment of crymsen velvet wit th' apparell.

One vestment of blewe damaske, witout the apparell.

One vestment of blewe velvet, wit th' apparell.

One vestment of grene satten a brigges, wit th'apparell.

One vestment of grene silke for decon & subdecon, wit the apparell to the vestment.

One vestment of whyte silk, wit black spots, witout apparell.

Two black motley vestments & the apparell to th' one of them.

One blewe motley vestment, witout apparell.

One blewe vestment of satten, wit th'apparell.

One red vestment of sarssnet, witout th'apparell.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

One vestment of blewe damaske, witout th'apparells.
 One care cloth.
 One cope of purple velvet.
 One cope of crymsen velvet.
 Thre old grene silke copes.
 One cope of whyte silke.
 One cope of motley.
 One old care cloth.
 One red vestment of branchyd saye, & th'apparell, except a
 girdell.
 One whyte vestment of fustyan, wit th'apparell.
 One vestment of grene motley, witout apparell.
 One coysshyn of cloth of gold.
 One red coysshyn of silk, & corporase, & vij cloths in them.
 iiij crewetts of pewter.
 ij super alteres of marble.
 One pix cloft.
 ij payen of organs.
 A croysmatory of latton.
 A senser & a ship of copper.
 ij coortens of stayned canvas.
 iiij masse books of papier.
 iiij altar clothes, th'one of diaper, a pied fringe.
 iiij altar clothes of chamblet saye fustyan & buck[ram].
 One old crosse of copper.
 A knop of grene silke gold.
 One pulpet cloft.
 iiij surpleses.
 iiij rochetts.
 iiij towells.

Certain goods had been sold previously by the church-wardens (1549); among these were:

One painted fount cloth.
 One banner staff.
 One alter standing in Allen's chappell.
 One shipp & one pix of silver, parcell gilt, & a senser of silver, parcell gilt.

The sum of 4*s.* 4*d.* was used "about the reparacyon of the churche & mendinge of the clocke."

The following goods were sold by the parishioners in 1551 for 40*s.*, and the sum expended in paying the stage players, and repairing the Cornmarket, viz.:

One masseboke wrytten; ij grayles; iiij p'ressyons; ij malls;
 iiij dyrge bokes; ij wrytton bokes; one olde masse boke; one

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

boke of the psalmes; iiij other written bokes; a crosse staff; iiij banners & stremers; ij holy water potts; the foot of a crosse of latten; iiij latten candelsticks; ij gret candelsticks; one sakeryng bell; certen other thyngs which we remember nott.

The inventory concludes thus:

It appoynted to the chyrchewardens to use in the chyrche the said two chalices, because the parysshe is grete, and the red velvet cope, one of the green copes, the alter clothes, all the surplices, the care cloth, the pulpyt cloth, the canvys cloth, the herse & towells; the residewe is comytted to savekepyng to John Coke, gent., & Willm Rawllyn, to be used at the King's pleasure.

There is also at the Public Record Office, among the returns made to Parliament in 1388 of the Ecclesiastical Gilds and brotherhoods, etc., a certificate relating to a Gild in Rayleigh.

By the kind permission of the Rector of Rayleigh, the Rev. A. G. Fryer, I have taken much valuable information from his book *Rayleigh in Past Days*.

[To be continued.]

THE LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD.

BY C. E. JOHNSTON.

IN a previous article¹ we traced the descent of the manor of Little Berkhamstead to the year 1539, when it passed to the Crown on the attainder of the Marchioness of Exeter.

On December 7, 1539, Henry VIII granted for life to Anthony Denny, chief gentleman of his Privy Chamber, the stewardship of the manors of Bedwell and Berkhamstead and the custody of the mansion of Bedwell and of Bedwell Park and the wild animals therein, at a fee of £12 a year receivable out of the said manors, together with the herbage and pannage of Bedwell Park and free warren of conies within and without the park in the parishes of Essendon and Berkhamstead, and two pastures adjoining the park called Great and Little Copie.²

¹ *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. xi, p. 266.

² Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, 1539, vol. ii, p. 300, and Patent Roll 30, 31 Henry VIII, m. 34.

LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD.

In 1543 100 fallow deer and 12 red deer were removed from Bedwell Park to the King's park at Waltham.¹

Sir Anthony Denny² was one of Henry VIII's executors and one of the guardians of Edward VI; shortly after Henry's death he was using this position to secure grants of lands for himself. On June 12, 1547, desiring to have the manors of Bedwell and Berkhamstead, he put in valuations as follow:³

	£	s.	d.
Rents of assize of free tenants in Bedwell yearly		7	5½
Rents of copyhold tenants in " "	8	0	5
Rents of tenants at will in " "	6	6	8
Rents of assize of free tenants in Hatfield Woodside yearly		2	0
Rents of copyhold tenants in " " "	7	8	6
Rents of assize of free tenants in Berkhamstead yearly	2	13	7½
Rents of copyhold tenants in " " "	12	0	9
Ferm of demesne lands demised to divers tenants	3	13	4
Perquisitions of Courts	1	3	4
	<hr/>		
	£41	16	1
<i>Less.</i> Fee of Sir Anthony Denny	12	0	0
Annuity of Rob ^t Page by letters			
patent of the King	13	4	
Tithe to the Vicar of Berkhamstead	10	0	
Hay making and Carting	1	16	8
	<hr/>		
		15	0 0
	<hr/>		
Clear yearly value	£26	16	1
	<hr/>		

The warren of conies and the herbage and pannage of Bedwell Park, which were Sir Anthony Denny's for life, were each valued at £6 13s. 4d. yearly.

On June 28, 1547, the Crown granted⁴ to Sir Anthony Denny and his heirs for ever "in full absolute and entire completion and execution of our dear father's mind and intention" the manors of Bedwell and Berkhamstead, with other lands in Nazing, Waltham, and Cheshunt. Sir Anthony died on September 1, 1549,⁵ and left Bedwell and Berkhamstead to his third son, Charles, a young boy on whose death without

¹ Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, 1543, vol. xviii, p. 126.

² See a biography of him in *Transactions of East Herts Arch. Soc.*, vol. iii, pt. 2, p. 197.

³ Particulars for grants, 1 Edw. VI, section 1, No. 1572.

⁴ Pat. Roll, 807, 1 Edw. VI, m. 19.

⁵ *Inq. p. m.*, 4 Edw. VI, pt. 1, No. 115.

LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD.

issue in 1566, they reverted to Sir Anthony's eldest son, Henry Denny, Esq., of Waltham and Dallance, Essex. Henry Denny died in 1574,¹ leaving two young sons, Robert, who died two years later, and Edward, who eventually succeeded to these manors. Sir Edward Denny² married Mary, daughter of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter. In February, 1599, he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil:

I look to be called upon very shortly for my debt to her Majesty and finding no good means to furnish myself with money to that purpose but with the sale of Bedwell and Berkhamsted, I thought good you should have the first offer.³

There was, however, apparently some doubt about his title to these manors, and so on July 18, 1600, for a payment of £300, he secured from the Crown a fresh grant of Bedwell Louthes, Bedwell, and Little Berkhamstead.⁴ Within a month he sold to Humphrey Weld, Esq., Alderman of London, the manor of Little Berkhamstead with 60 acres of arable land, 20 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture, 10 acres of wood, 4 acres of heath and 20s. rent in Little Berkhamstead, Essendon, and Hatfield, but excepting *Watermeades* and *Waterfield* in Little Berkhamstead (in the tenure of William Potter the elder) and the demesne lands inclosed within the pale of Bedwell Park.⁵

Humphrey Weld was knighted in 1603 and was Lord Mayor of London in 1608-9. He died on November 29, 1610, possessed of the manors of Holwell Graye and Ludwickhall, held of the manor of Hatfield, the manors of Little Berkhamstead and of Panshanger, held in chief; lands in Chipping Barnet and East Barnet, Arnolds, Arnolds Grove and other lands in Edmonton, held of the King as of the manor of East Greenwich, and various tenements in London.⁶ He was succeeded by his son, John Weld, then aged over twenty-seven years, who married Frances, daughter of William Whitmore. John Weld was Sheriff of Herts in 1612 and was afterwards knighted; he died February 7, 1623.⁷ He had added to his lands in Little Berk-

¹ *Inq. p. m.*, 16 Eliz., Pt. 2, No. 85.

² He was knighted in 1589; created Lord Denny of Waltham in 1604, and Earl of Norwich in 1626; he died without male issue in 1637.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Salisbury MSS., vol. ix, p. 63.

⁴ Pat. Roll, 1524, 42 Eliz., m. 16.

⁵ Close Roll, 1667, 42 Eliz., Pt. 23, and Fines, Herts, Mich., 42-43 Eliz., bundle 141.

⁶ *Inq. p. m.*, 9 James I, pt. 1, No. 173.

⁷ *Inq. p. m.*, 21 Jas. I, pt. 2, No. 132.

LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD.

hamstead a messuage, garden and 2 acres of land bought in 1622 of Nicholas and William Hooker and others.¹ His eldest son and heir, Humphrey Weld, who was eleven years old on January 26, 1623, was afterwards owner of Lulworth Castle, Dorset, and Governor of Portland Castle.

On September 12, 1645, Sir John Weld's widow, Dame Frances Weld and others, sold to Phineas Andrews, merchant, of Crutched Friars, London, the manor of Little Berkhamstead with 64 acres of demesne lands (viz., 16 acres in *Berkhamstead Mead*, 20 acres of inclosed arable land called *Haycockes* and *Highoakes*, and 28 acres of arable land in the Common field) and about 65 acres of other lands, viz., *Culvergrove*, wood ground called *Haycockpiece*, a messuage and 10 acres adjoining, *Drybottome* meadow, 5 roods in *Berkhamstead Mead*, *Broome Close*, a messuage and close in *Millfield*, three closes in *Pondfield*, two closes "down to the river," two closes in *Greenepightell*, an acre in *Broadlands*, a close of 8 acres in *Fellhedges*, and a tenement with 1 acre of land.²

Phineas Andrews was a royalist and was married to Mildred, sister of Thomas Fanshawe, of Ashford, Kent; his daughter, Elizabeth, married³ Thomas, son of Sir John Wolstenholme, farmer of the customs and afterwards a baronet. Thomas and Elizabeth Wolstenholme had a son, John (afterwards third baronet), baptized at Little Berkhamstead in 1649: Thomas succeeded his father as second baronet in 1670, and died in 1691; he and his wife, who died in 1697, were buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

In 1650 Phineas Andrews paid £1,500 for Sir John Wolstenholme's assessment by the Committee for the Advance of Money. The following year Andrews himself was before the Committee on information that he had sent £50 in 1644 to his uncle, Sir John Harrison⁴ of Balls Park, then at Oxford in very straitened circumstances, and that about the same time he had sent £100 to the King as a testimony of his affection; he was, however, released in April, 1652, on the Act of General Pardon.

Andrews had children baptized at Little Berkhamstead in

¹ Fines, Herts, Trin., 20 James I.

² Close Roll, 3336, No. 32 (21 Car. I, pt. 10).

³ Allegation for marriage licence dated January 31, 1645-6; Elizabeth Andrews was then aged seventeen.

⁴ Sir John Harrison was doubtless uncle of Mrs. Andrews through his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Robert Fanshawe.

LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD.

1647 and 1653; the last, a son named Phineas, only lived a few days. In 1655 he¹ sold to George Nevill, Gent., of Staple Inn, London, for £3,600 the manor of Little Berkhamstead, with all the lands purchased from the Welds, and also the following copyhold lands acquired from Thomas Foster and Jeremiah Roysterne, viz., Two closes of pasture and wood called *Cattalls* (10 acres) and *New Close* adjoining (8 acres); a small pightell (1 acre); *Millfield Close* (7 acres) lately inclosed out of the Common field called *Millfield*; *Fouracre piece* in *Millfield*; 5 acres in *Sprowsfield* and *Idlemanshott* (6 acres) in *Sprowsfield*; *Millfield Bottome* (3 acres); *Millfield Spring* (2 acres); 8 roods in *Berkhamstead Mead*; *Pollards Spring Grove* (3 acres); *Broadlands Grove* (2 acres); land called *Hounds* (4 acres); and a messuage formerly in the tenure of Thomas Foster.²

George Nevill was elder son of Richard Nevill of Halstead, Essex, and was descended from a younger son of Richard Nevill, second Lord Latimer. His son, Richard Nevill, was buried at Little Berkhamstead in 1664, and he himself died in 1679, aged fifty-eight, and was buried in the chancel of Little Berkhamstead Church; his widow, Elizabeth, who was youngest daughter of Sir Henry Trotter of Skelton Castle, died in 1685, aged sixty-one, and was buried near him.

The manor of Little Berkhamstead devolved on George Nevill's only daughter, Elizabeth, who had married³ Cromwell Fleetwood, son of Lieutenant-General Charles Fleetwood and Bridget, daughter of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell Fleetwood seems to have been the only son of this marriage and to have been born in 1653; his mother died in 1662, and his father, who married again, lived a retired life at Stoke Newington, being incapacitated from public office after the Restoration. Cromwell Fleetwood was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1671; in 1673 he was "received into Church fellowship" in the Congregational Church in Bury Street, Duke's Place, under Dr. John Owen, where the rest of his family were members.⁴ He died without issue in 1688, and was buried in the chancel at Little Berkhamstead, where his widow was

¹ Andrews afterwards bought the manor of Denton, Kent; he was M.P. for Hythe 1660, died in 1661 and was buried at Denton.

² Indenture of July 23, 1655. (Close Roll, 3873, No. 20).

³ Allegation for marriage licence February 22, 1678-9; Fleetwood was then aged "about 26" and Elizabeth Nevill "about 24."

⁴ *Transactions of Congregational Historical Society*, No. 1; quoted in *Hertfordshire Mercury*, March 7, 1908.

LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD.

laid to rest in 1692 "adjacent to y^e body of her vertuous husband."

Elizabeth Fleetwood left by will¹ £5 to her "Aunt Fulthorpe," £300 to her kinswoman, Mary Fulthorpe, who had been living with her, £10 to her "sister Bendish" [Bridget Ireton, half-sister of Cromwell Fleetwood], £500 to her cousins, Thomas Burkitt and Sarah his wife of Sudbury, £20 to her "worthy friend" Mr. Hayworth, £3 to the poor of Little Berkhamstead, £20 to poor Nonconformist Ministers and Ministers' widows, and £50 for a large gravestone to be placed over her and her husband and for a monument on the wall of the church. There is no such monument to them, but the gravestone in the chancel floor has the arms of Fleetwood quartering Nevill and the following inscription:

Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth Fleetwood, widow, (who died the xxvi of April MDCXCII) adjacent to y^e body of her vertuous husband, Cromwell Fleetwood Esq, who died y^e 1 of June MDCLXXXVIII. This Elizabeth was sole daughter of George Nevill, Gent., and died without issue.

The manor of Little Berkhamstead was left to George Nevill, eldest son of Mrs. Fleetwood's cousin and heir-at-law, John Nevill of Ridgewell, Essex, when he should come of age, and, until such time, the revenue, after meeting her debts and legacies, was to go to John Nevill. The revenue, however, proved insufficient to meet the charges upon it, and the trustees obtained a private Act of Parliament² to enable them to sell a portion of the estate to meet these charges. There were two very good houses there, the Manorhouse, and the Brewhouse, "which is the mansion house and is very large and a burthen to the estate to keep up;" and on September 16, 1703,³ the trustees for a nominal consideration conveyed to John Nevill, in satisfaction of moneys owed to him by the estate, the Brewhouse, with orchards, gardens, malthouse, dovehouse, etc., and *Dobbs Closes* (10 acres) adjoining the house, 7 acres in *Berkhamstead Mead*, *Sandpit Close* (2 acres), and *Penly Park* (5 roods).

The Brewhouse and Dobbs Closes afterwards passed into

¹ Will (P. C. C. 105 Fane) dated May 23, 1691 and proved June 4, 1692. There is no entry of her burial in the parish register, which is defective at this period; the date on her tombstone seems to have been altered from 1693 to 1692.

² Local Acts, 7 and 8 Will. III, Record Commission, Statutes, vol. vii, p. 159, No. xiii.

³ Close Roll, 4920, No. 10.

LATER HISTORY OF LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD.

the possession of John Brassey, citizen and goldsmith of London and owner of Roxford manor in Hertingfordbury; he sold them in 1722¹ to John Moore, Gent., of St. James's, Westminster, who also acquired from Ursula French, widow, a farmhouse and 4 acres of land in Little Berkhamstead, *Pondfield* (3 acres), *Redducks* (4 acres), *The Danes* (5 acres), 7½ acres of common arable land, 3 roods of meadow and 1½ acres in *Berkhamstead Mead*. Moore sold his lands to Maurice Hunt, Esq., of Cavendish Square, London, who died in 1730, and whose name is kept in remembrance in Little Berkhamstead by the charity which he left to the poor; the Brewhouse and his lands in Little Berkhamstead he left to Alice, wife of William Morehead, Esq., of St. George's, Hanover Square, London, who sold them in 1738² to Beverly Butler, Esq., of the Inner Temple. On Butler's death in 1754, the property passed to his widow, Martha, who died in 1762, and left this property to her "dear friend" Mary Durnford, who married in 1766 John Searancke, Esq., of Hatfield. Mrs. Searancke died in 1787, and the Brewhouse and lands passed into the possession of John Stratton, Esq., of The Gage, who pulled down the Brewhouse and erected on its site in 1789 the existing circular tower of red brick.

George Nevill married Jane, daughter of William Guyon, of Great Yeldham, Essex, and in 1713³ sold the manor of Little Berkhamstead and about 165 acres of land to John Dimsdale the younger of Hertford, who was knighted in 1725, and died in 1726, aged sixty-one, without issue, leaving this manor to his cousin, Thomas Dimsdale, afterwards 1st Baron Dimsdale, with whose family the manorial rights still remain.

¹ Close Roll, 5329, No. 20.

² Close Roll, 5615, No. 21.

³ Close Roll, 5051, No. 5.

STAR CHAMBER CASES, No. X.

DYER *v.* LORD CLINTON.

MICHAELMAS TERM, 21 HENRY VII, 1505.

(*Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VII, No. 47.*)

TO the Kyng our Souveraigne Lord.

[Meekly beseecheth]¹ your Highnes your pore subgett and dayly oratour, John Dyer of London, Glasier, that where George Norton of Merden in your Countie of Kent was seaisid in his demeane as of fee of and in certeyn [lands called] Cheveney, and of and in other londes, medowe and pasture callid Sypherst, in Merden aforeseid and in Ealdyng in your seid Countie in his demeane as of fee, by old enheritaunce to hym [descended and so possessed died] seaisid, after whos deth the seid landes medowe, pasture, wodde and other the premisses, descendyd and ought to descende to oon Johane Dyer, as suster and heire of the seid George Norton, forasmoch [as the said George died without] issue of his bodye. By force wherof the seid Johane Dyer entred in to the seid londes and tenementes, and was therof seaisid by the space of xx yerez and more, and died of that estate therof [seised; after whose death] the seid londes and tenementes descendyd unto your seid Oratour, as son and heire to the seid Johane, by force wherof he entred into the seid londes and tenementes, and was therof seaisid in his demeane as of [fee, and was thereof] peasibly seaisid unto the tyme that Thomas Cornell th' elder and Thomas Cornell the yonger, without title of ryght entred in to the seid londes and tenementes, and therof wrongfully disseised your [said Orator, and] the same with force and mygth kept; ayenst whom your seid Oratour the xijth yere of your most noble Reigne [1496-7] Souveraigne Lord, sued a wrytt of entre [entry] upon the Statute *de ingressu ubi ingressus non datur per legem* [passed in the reign of] Kyng Richard the ijde,² oon of your noble progenitours, afore the Justice of your Commen Benche at Westminster: In which accion the seid Thomas and Thomas pleaded that they entred nat ayenst

¹ Part of the document is torn off; the missing portions are conjecturally restored, where possible.

² Probably the act against forcible entries, 5 Ric. II, stat. 1, cap. 7.

STAR CHAMBER CASES, No. X.

the fourme of [the statute]; and after long suyt made by your seid Oratour in the seid action, to his great costes and charges, it was founde be an inquest of xij lawfull and indifferent men that the seid Thomas and Thomas in . . . entred of their owne wrong, ayenst the fourme of the seid statuyt, and assessid the damages of your seyde Oratour for his wronges susteyned in that behalf, wherof he hadde Jugement as [?] by the record of that pro]cez more at large apperith of Record. And this jugement natwithstandyng, the seid Thomas Cornell and Thomas, of there great malice, wrongfully after that eftsones desesid your seid besecher [again of the said] tenementes, and the same with mygth and strenght kept, and also compleyned unto your Hyghnesse afore the lordes of your most Honourable and Discrete Counsel ayenst your seyde besecher, and foras[muche as the s]eyd londes and tenementes lay nere unto John, Lord Clynton and Say, your seid Hyghnes Directed your honourable letters to the seid Lord Clynton and to Edwarde Fereys, Esquier, commaundyng them by the same to calle afore them the seid partiez and sett suche direccion bytwene them as shuld accorde with conscience. By force wherof the seid Lord Clynton hadde bothe the seid partiez afore hym, but he therin made nonne ende. And the seid Thomas Cornell, perceyvyng that he cowde not atteyne to his purpose by that suyt, gaffe his pretendid title in the premyssez to the seid Lord Clinton; whiche Lorde, by colour of the same gyft, with force and armes and in ryottes maner, ayenst your peas and lawes, Souvereigne Lord, entred into the seid londes and tenementes, and kept the possession of the seid londes and tenementes and other the premyssez with like force and myght. And afterward your seid Oratour re-entred, and was seasid therof in his demeane as of fee by reason of his seid lawfull title, and lete [let] the seyde londes and other the premyssez to ferme to oon John Gartford, yeldyng to your seid Oratour a certeyn yerly rent; and then the seid Thomas Cornell and Thomas, in there pretendid title of the seid Lord Clynton and by his commaundement, myght and strenght, entred into the seid londes, and there toke wrongfully vj oxen and xij bolakes [bullocks] of the catell of the said Fermour, and them drove away; and after the seid John Gartford suyde a wrytt of replevyn, and by vertue therof had his seid catell ageyn. And the seid compleynt and wrytt, with the processe in the same, was removyd afore your Justice of Pleas to be holden before yourself the xix yere of your most noble Reigne

STAR CHAMBER CASES, No. X.

[1503-4], and there the seid mater was pleted, and the title of your seid Oratour put in issue to be tryed, and in the seid accion it was tried, and founde by great deliberacion that the seid Thomas Cornell and Thomas, whiche gaff theire pretensyd title to the seid Lord Clynton, hadde no thying therin but by disseson donne to your seyde Supplyant, as is afore rehersed; wheruppon after the seid John Gartford recovered his damages for the wrongfull takyng of the seyde bestes, as afore your seyde Justices also apperith ther of Record. And all this notwithstanding, the seid Lord Clynton of his great myght, force and strenght yet kepeth the possession of the seid londes and other the premisses, and therin hath made grete wast and distruccion in fellyng of grete trees . . . fysshying of his ponde and dispoilyng hys fyssh, to his great losse. And your seid Suppliaunt is a pore Citizen of this Citie of London and [not] able to pursue no further for the present [by] course of the Commen lawe, and so likely to be disheret, except your grace be [? aiding him] this behalf. It may therfore please [your] most noble Grace the premisses to considre, and to graunt to your seid besecher your honorable lettres of Pryve Seale to be directed to the seid Lord Clinton, comaundyng hym by the same to appere before [your Grace] and the Lordes of your most honorable Councell, at Westminster, on such day and uppon suche payne as shall please your Grace to assigne, there to answer to the premisses and further to be directed by your seyde Honourable Councell as shall accorde with reason and conscience.

Indorsed. Termino Michaelis, anno regni Regis xxj [1505].

Th'aunswerr of John, Lord Clynton and Say, to the bill of Complainge of John Dyer.

The seid Lorde saith that the sayd bill is uncertein and insufficient to be aunsweryd unto, and the mater theryn conteyned feyned of malice to vex and trouble the seyde Lorde, and also is mater determynabull at the Commen Lawe, whereunto he praieth to be remitted; and th'advantage therof to him savyd, nevertheles for further aunswer and declaracion of trouthe, the seid Lorde saieth that wher the seyde Complaynaunt saith that the Kinges letters were directyde to the seyde nowe Lorde Clinton and Edward Ferris to examyn the premisses, trouthe it is and so the seyde Lorde and Edward dydde, and commaundyde the seyde parties to bringe their evydences and to shewe their titles; but the seyde John Dyer wolde never

STAR CHAMBER CASES, No. X.

appere or comme to no aunswer of and yn the premisses. Whereuppon the seyde Lorde and Edward Ferris certyfied the Kinges Councell of the demeanor and trouthe in that behalfe; and theruppon the President, at that tyme beinge, commaundyd the seyde Lorde to putt the seide Thomas, whose estate the seyde Lorde nowe hath of and yn the premisses, in possession of the same. And for further aunswer, as to the londes called Cheveney, the seide Lord saith that long tyme before the seyde George Norton any thing hadde yn the premisses, oon John, Lorde Clynton, was seasyd of the same londes and tenementes in [his demesne] as of fee, as parcell of the Manor of Hunton yn the Countye of Kent, and so therof seasyd, for the feithfull Servies that Thomas Cheyvowe hadd don unto him yn tymes past, gave the same londes and tenementes to the same Thomas, to have to him for terme of his lyffe, and after his deceasse the same londes and tenementes to reverte to the seyde Lorde and his heires for evermore. Which Thomas dyed, after whose deth the premisses descendyd and of right ought to discend to the seyde John, nowe Lorde Clinton, as Cosin and heir to the seyde John, that is to sey, sonne of John, sonne of John, sonne of William, sonne of William, sonne of the seyde John; by force wherof the seide nowe Lorde Clinton entred into the premisses, as well and lawfull was for him. Withoute that that the seyde George Norton and John or any of them dyed seasyd of the premysse yn maner and fourme as is surmitted and without that that the seide Lorde wyll averr that John son of John, then Cosin and here to the seyde John, at the tyme of deth of the seyde George Norton was within age, and that the seyde John, nowe Lorde Clinton, at the tyme of deth of the seyde Joan Dyer was also within age. And as to the londes and tenementes called Syphurst, the seyde Lorde saith that long tyme before the seyde George Norton any thinge hadde yn the premisses oon Symond Cheyvowe was seasyd of the premisses yn his demene as of fee, and so seasyd therof dyed seasyd, after whose deth the same londes and tenementes descendyd and of right ought to discend to oon Thomas Cornewayle, as Cosin and heir to the seyde Symond, that is to sey, son of Stephyn, son of Thomas, son of William, son of Margaret, sister and heir to the seyde Symond; by force wherof the seyde Thomas entred yn to the premisses and therof was seasyd, and infeffyd the seyde Lorde of and yn the same yn fee, by a sale and a bargan made to the said Lord by the said Thomas. And

STAR CHAMBER CASES, No. X.

without that that the seyd George Norton and Joane Dyer or any of them dyed seasyd of the premysses yn maner and fourme as is surmysed, and without that that the seyd Lord will averr that at the tyme of deth of the seyd George Norton that the seid Thomas son of William, then cosin and heir to the seyd Symond, was imprisoned and yn warde within the Castell of Doverr, and at the deth of the seyd Joane Dyer the seyd Thomas, whoise Estate the seid Lorde nowe hath, was within age; and without that that the sayd lorde is gyltye of any mysdemeanour comprised yn the seyd byll. All which maters he is redy to prove, etc.

The Replicacion of John Dyer to the answer of John, Lord Clynton and Saye.

[Repeats the statement in the Bill and specifically denies those in the Answer.] And for asmoche as the seid now Lord hath confessid in his seid answer that he hath purchased the same londes and tenementes the same hangyng in pley [plea] and variance, which is ayenst all lawe and good conscience, and also it is but only for mayntenaunce and for noen other cause, wherfor the seid John Dyer praiyth as he hath prayd in his seid byll, and further that the same Lord may be ponysshed for his offense don in the premisses. All which mater he is redy to prove and aver as this Court shall award, and prayth as he hath prayd in his seid byll, etc.

The Rejoynder of the Lord Clynton to the Replycacon of John Dyer.

The seid Lord seith in every thyng as he seid in his seid Ansuer, whiche ys goode and true in every poynt and that he ys redy to averre and prove as this Court shall award. And where hit ys supposed that the seid Lord shuld purchase the seid landys and tenementys called Shiphurst, the same landys hangyng in ple and variaunce, the seid Lord seith as he seid in his seid ansuer, that he by force of a decre made by the seid Counseill was comaunded by the Presydent of the seid Counseill to put the seid Thomas in possessyon of the same landys and tenementys, emonge other, wherby the variaunces and ple betwene the seid John Dyer and Thomas Cornell was full determyned; and after that the seid Lord Clynton purchased the seid landys and tenementys called Shiphurst, in manere and fourme as he hath alleged in his seid ansuer. . . . All whiche maters the seid Lord Clynton ys redy to averre and prove as

NOTES AND QUERIES.

this Court wille award and prayeth as he hath prayed in his seid ansuer.

The Replicacion of John Dyer to the Reyonder of the Lord Clynton.

The same John Dyer seiyth in every thyng as he hath seyde in his seid byll and replicacion; without that that there was ever eny decre made by the Kynges moost Honorabull Counsell ayenst the same John Dyer tochyng the forseid londes and tenementes or eny parte of theym, or that the same Lord ever had eny commaundement by the Presedent of the same Counsell to putt the same Thomas Cornell in possession of the forseid londes and tenementes or that the same Lord ever purchased the same londes and tenementes but only for mayntenance and to bere and maynten the same mater ayenst the lawe; and sens th'entre made by the same Lord in an action takyn by the fermour of the seid John Dyer ayenst the servant of the seid Lord, the same Lordes pretendid title was fond by xij honest men of the countre ayenst the same Lord and his servant and jugement was yevyn uppon the same. Without that the same Lord payd eny mony for the same lond, but by myght and strenkith [strength] kepith the same, ayenst ryght and good consience, to the utter ondoynge of the same John Dyer. Wherefore he averieth and praieth as he hath prayd in his seid byll and replicacion.

NOTES.—The main point of interest in this case consists of the two long pedigrees set out by the defendant. The student of surnames will observe that the name Cornell is identified with Cornewayle, that is, Cornwall. The set of pleadings is unusually complete.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

WILLIAM LOFTIE RUTTON.—Many of our readers will regret to hear of the death of Mr. Rutton, who was a contributor to *The Home Counties Magazine* from its beginning. Mr. Rutton died on February 3rd, in his eightieth year, having been born at Ashford, Kent, in 1831. He was well known in his profession of a civil engineer, and it is no doubt to the training thus acquired that we must attribute the painstaking accuracy and love of detail that characterized his archæological work. No point was too trivial for research and proof or otherwise; no one could be more careful in verifying references; these important factors give a perman-

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ence and value to his articles, even on relatively unimportant subjects. He published a genealogical book, *Three Branches of the Family of Wentworth*, in 1891, and two biographical articles on two Lord Mayors of London appeared recently in this magazine, but his best work was topographical, especially that relating to Greater London. His articles on "Westbourne Green," "Bloomsbury Square," "The Serpentine," and "Kensington Gardens" were written for the *H.C.M.*, while his last published paper, on "The Manor of Eia or Eye next Westminster," appeared in *Archæologia*; all of these are sound and solid contributions to the topography of the metropolis. Articles on "Folkestone Parish Church" and "Sandgate Castle" were printed in *Archæologia Cantiana*; an article on Cheriton Church will appear in our next number. Mr. Rutton was elected F.S.A. in 1891. His genial disposition and willingness to help endeared him to a large circle of friends by whom he will be greatly missed.

TURNER AND PEAKE FAMILIES.—Can any reader tell the identity of one Sibylla Peake, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Surrey, spinster, who married William Turner of the same parish, bachelor, April 2, 1727? See "Register of St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, vol ii., marriages," London, 1910, page 327. Did this William Turner die before 1740, and did his wife Sibylla remarry? If so, whom?—EUGENE F. MACPIKE. 1, Park Row, Chicago, U.S.A.

DEADMAN'S PLACE BURIAL GROUND.—Can you or any one of your correspondents tell me what became of the remains of the persons buried in Deadman's Place Burial Ground, particularly regarding those interred about 1812?

Can any one also instruct me regarding the disposal of the tombstones, and the remains of those buried in the ground attached to the Independent Chapel, belonging to the Dissenters, which adjoined Deadman's Place Burial Ground.

Deadman's Place was situated in Southwark, and is now called Park Street. A chapel was situated there and was known in 1764 as Dr. Watson's Dissenting Chapel. It is stated that the burial ground referred to is now a part of the brewery of Messrs Barclay, Perkins and Co.

Deadman's Place Burial Ground is shown in Roque's plan of London, 1746, also in Rendel's Map of Southwark 1542, and the burial ground is referred to in the following work: Hunter's *London Burial Grounds*, etc. I find that bodies were buried there as recently as 1812. Were the bodies or remains ever removed? Under what legislative act was Deadman's Place Burial Ground closed and when? I shall be very grateful for any information through the columns of the *Home Counties Magazine*, and shall be very pleased to answer any replies sent direct.—JOHN GOLDSWORTHY ADAMS. Burns Avenue, Hartwell, Ohio, U.S.A.

REPLIES.

THE BEAR GARDENS AT SOUTHWARK, ETC. (vol. xii, p. 199).—Mr. F. E. Tyler has done useful work in communicating to *The Home Counties Magazine* his article on "The Bear Gardens at Southwark and Old Bankside." It contains much information already perhaps known to students, but here put together in convenient form. He has, however, inadvertently, I am sure, made a few statements which are rather misleading, and as this publication has always been distinguished by its accuracy, I hope he will pardon me for pointing them out.

On p. 199 Mr. Tyler speaks of the Manor of Paris Garden as having contained two bear-gardens. It is true that as early as the seventeenth year of Henry VIII, according to the Household Book of the Earl of Northumberland's family, that nobleman went to Paris Garden to see the bear-baiting there; and that in D'Ewes' Diary for January 13, 1583, there is mention of the stage at Paris Garden having fallen down during a bear-baiting performance, with the result that many of the spectators were killed or wounded. It is true also that there are various other references in the works of old writers to bear-baiting in Paris Garden. We may therefore suppose (though the term may have been applied inaccurately to the whole of the Bankside) that such performances did sometimes in the sixteenth century take place within the limits of the Manor. Be this as it may, the more or less permanent amphitheatres in which animals were baited during the latter part of the sixteenth and the earlier seventeenth century were not in the Manor of Paris Garden, but in the adjoining Clink Liberty, which belonged to the Bishops of Winchester. In the Braun and Hogenberg plan of London, which must have been drawn a good deal before 1572 (the date of its publication), two such amphitheatres are shown near the south bank of the Thames, called respectively "The Bowll Bayting" and "The Beare Bayting," and these appear in similar positions on the later plan ascribed to Agas, being in all probability identical with Stow's "two bear gardens, wherein be kept bears, bulls and other beasts." They are very much east of Paris Garden, which corresponds with the modern parish of Christchurch. In the eighteenth year of James I, John Taylor, known as "the Water-poet," being then an old man, gave evidence that within his recollection "the game of bearbayting" had "been kept in fower severall places, viz. at Mason Steares on the bank side, neere Maid Lane by the corner of the Pyke Garden, at the Beare Garden which was parcell of the possession of William Payne," and at the place where they were then kept. The late Dr. Rendle, an excellent authority on

REPLIES.

such a subject, in the eighth volume of *Walford's Antiquarian* identifies these sites, and all are in the Clink Liberty.

On p. 202, Mr. Tyler boldly asserts that the historic Globe Theatre was also in the Manor of Paris Garden, thereby shifting it nearly a quarter of a mile from the position in Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co.'s Brewery, where it appears to be safely anchored by Dr. William Martin, after most careful study of original documents. Dr. C. W. Wallace lately tried to prove that it was north, not west, of this site.

Another statement on the same page, to which exception may be taken, is that "olde Paris Garden Lane" ran from Bankside in the direction of Blackfriars Road. The authority given is "an old print," but in fact the now obliterated Paris Garden Lane ran from the stairs of that name to what was formerly called the Upper Ground, and parallel with the line of Blackfriars Road. On the river front the stairs nearly marked the eastern boundary of the manor; the site of the Falcon Tavern, now I think marked by Falcon Wharf, being just within the Clink Liberty.

On p. 205, John Taylor, the water-poet, is converted into "Walter Taylor the poet," and the Globe Theatre is said to have been demolished in 1664. If, however, we can accept as authentic evidence Howes' manuscript as given in Collier's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. ccxlii, that historic building "was pulled doune to the ground by Sir Matthew Brand on Monday, April 15, 1644, to make tenements in the room of it."

In conclusion I venture to point out that the Southwark bull-ring, concerning which Mr. Tyler quotes an indenture dated April 17, 1561, was a long distance from the bull and bear gardens on the Bankside, being near St. George's Church, on the west side of the Borough High Street. After a careful comparison of plans of various dates it seems proved that the site of Bull-ring Alley was identical with that of the present Brent's Court, between Adam's (now Eve's) Place and Falcon Court.—PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A.

OPEN AIR STATUES IN LONDON.—I notice that in Mr. T. W. Hill's interesting article on the above he has not included in his list the statue of Sir Robert Geffery, Knt.

This statue is placed in a niche over the main entrance doorway to the Ironmongers' Almshouses in Kingsland Road, Shoreditch. An inscription under the statue is as follows:

"S^R ROBT GEFFRYES K^{NT} ALDERMAN
AND IRONMONGER
FOUNDER OF THIS HOSPITALL."

The almshouses and the adjacent garden, which were recently threatened with demolition, have been acquired by the London County Council, the Shoreditch Borough Council and other public

REVIEWS.

authorities for preservation as an open space. Illustrations of the Almshouses and the Founder's statue appeared in *Country Life* of July 9, 1910.—J. H. JOHNSON.

ROLLS YARD AND CHAPEL (vol. xi, p. 236).—"Church Passage," formerly "White's Alley," mentioned in the reply at the above reference, has, quite recently, been re-named "Rolls Passage."—C. M. PHILLIPS.

REVIEWS.

COUNTY CHURCHES, SURREY, by J. E. Morris, B.A. George Allen and Sons; pp. viii, 200; 2s. 6d. net.

This promises to be a useful series of hand-books to our county churches. Mr. Morris proves a very efficient guide to Surrey; he gives a short but sufficient description of the main architectural features of each church, and adds notes of effigies, brasses, old tiles, alms-boxes, and anything else worthy of special attention. The date of the registers is also given, and useful information about recent repairs and so-called restorations. Of these last we have the usual pitiful complaint of wanton damage and destruction, which will probably continue until all old churches are scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act. The volumes are of handy size for the pocket, and the casual visitor will not miss much worth seeing if he take Mr. Morris's book with him. We should have liked to see more illustrations, sixteen for the whole county is a meagre allowance; curiously enough, the special items that Mr. Morris claims as being the most interesting, *e.g.*, the pre-Conquest tower at Guildford and the double-storied chancel at Compton, are not illustrated at all.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY; vol. vi, part 5; Harrison and Sons; 5s. net.

The main feature of this number is the interesting account of the repairs now in progress at Winchester Cathedral, by Mr. T. G. Jackson, B.A. After a short but acid history of the church and its successive alterations and additions, we have a detailed description of the engineering work undertaken to place the historic building in a condition of safety. Probably no such difficult and dangerous work has ever been attempted. The foundations had to be underpinned by divers working in peaty water, so black that even electric torches were useless. The illustrations give a vivid idea of the damaged condition of the walls and vaulting. Mr. Dewick as a learned article on "Some Vernacular Versions of the Great Oes of Advent," in French and Dutch.

THE PARISH REGISTERS OF CHIPSTEAD AND TITSEY, SURREY, transcribed and edited by W. Bruce Bannerman, F.S.A.

This volume, the seventh of the Surrey Parish Register Society, is edited by Mr. Bannerman with his usual care. There are reproductions of old prints of the

REVIEWS.

two churches, and the prefaces contain a lot of useful information both about the churches and parishes. This Society is doing such good work that it deserves to be better supported. The next registers to be issued will be Coulsdon and Stoke D'Abernon; Beddington and Sutton are in the press, while Fetcham, Little Bookham and Putney are in active preparation.

SHIP OF THE ROMAN PERIOD, discovered on the site of the new County Hall. London County Council; pp. 20; 6*d*.

Roman ships are not dug up every day, and therefore the L. C. C. have done well to issue a hand-book on the subject. Mr. W. E. Riley, the Council's Architect, supplies a detailed description of the remains found, to which Sir Laurence Gomme adds some historical notes. The illustrations and diagrams are excellent.

WHERE TO LIVE ROUND LONDON; NORTHERN SIDE; new edition. The Homeland Association; pp. 218; 1*s*. net.

In the new edition several residential districts not hitherto dealt with have been included, and the whole information has been revised and brought up to date in consultation with the respective local authorities. This book, which now enters its thirtieth thousand, gives just that practical information which is required by those who are looking for a district in which to settle down. The districts dealt with are comprised as a rule in the area some five to forty miles from the heart of London. There are some charming illustrations and a series of useful maps.

FORGOTTEN SHRINES; an account of some old Catholic Halls and Families in England, and of Relics and Memorials of the English Martyrs; by Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., B.A., Oxon. Macdonald and Evans; pp. xvi, 411; 2*5s*. net.

This work is presumably intended by the author for his co-religionists only, otherwise it is difficult to account for the note of acerbity which jars the non-Catholic reader on nearly every page. "Englishmen of all creeds" (he says in his preface) "have grown more sympathetic of late"; frankly, we cannot feel that tolerance and amity on either side are likely to be promoted by Mr. Camm's somewhat violent adjectives. Every thinking man must deeply regret the persecutions and cruelties in the name of religion which were indulged in by Catholic and Protestant alike; they form a melancholy chapter in our history, which requires the greatest tact and restraint in its treatment. It is much to be regretted that these qualities are conspicuous by their absence. Apart from this defect, as we venture to think it, we have nothing but praise for Mr. Camm's book. The historical and genealogical matter is done with great care and accuracy, while the narrative portions are told with considerable skill and dramatic force. A large number of original documents are quoted, references being given as a rule, and this material is well handled and put together. The places dealt with are scattered pretty well all over England, Lancashire and Yorkshire having the lion's share. The book is profusely illustrated, mostly from photographs by the author and others; a considerable number of pen drawings by Mr. Joseph Pike make a pleasant variety. A capital index will make it useful as a work of reference, and, apart from its controversial side, it should prove acceptable to all those interested in old houses and family history. The general get-up of the book is admirable and does the greatest credit to the printers and publishers.



Cheriton Church.

Photograph by Halksworth Wheeler, Folkestone.

SAMUEL PLIMSOLL, CHERITON CHURCH, AND THE VICINITY.

BY THE LATE W. L. RUTTON, F.S.A.

AFTER life's fitful fever he sleeps well." Shakespeare's fine line fitly applies to "the Sailor's Friend," whose grave is on the pleasant green hillside of Cheriton Churchyard, from which elevation, looking down a beautiful valley, is seen the Channel where pass the ships with their crews for whose benefit he contended long and strenuously. Plimsoll died at the neighbouring town of Folkestone on June 3, 1898, and his resting-place, whether his own choice or that of his family, is such as to please all who honour his memory. I propose to refer to his work, but before doing so would like to say something of Cheriton Church, and of the two or three places of interest found in the course of a pleasant, moderate walk of rather more than two miles from Folkestone. The way is mostly by footpaths across fields, for as the church stands some distance off the main road, whence it is reached by a crossroad, the carriage drive is longer.

Grimston Avenue is to-day on the western verge of Folkestone, we follow it to its northern end at the Shorncliffe Road, and turning into that road keep to it westward until it makes a decided bend towards Shorncliffe Railway Station. At the bend, on our left, is a white gate barring the end of another projected avenue (a red letter-pillar also conveniently marks the point), and trending south-westward across fields is seen a narrow footpath between iron-wire fences; this is our way. Soon we reach Coolinge Lane, along which, on our left, is Coolinge, a large farmstead. The front of the farmhouse, approached through a garden, is pretty and modern-looking, the rear is old and venerable; the barns and other out-buildings are capacious and seem to represent a greater extent of agriculture than from the progress of building in the neighbourhood is now probable. Hasted, the county historian (on whose valuable record, now 120 years old, we shall draw as we proceed), had nothing to say about Coolinge, so perhaps we may regard it simply as a large farm that has had various proprietors. Along the lane, on our right, is a row of new, small houses,

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

marshalled by the "Railway Hotel" (inns are now obsolete), the name betokening the vicinity of Shorncliffe Station.

After crossing Coolinge Lane our path runs between cottage-gardens, and a little off the lane, on our left, a small house of two stories is picturesque from the growth of ivy covering it. About a quarter of a mile onward, by cornfield and garden, we cross by a stile, a fence which until lately marked the boundary between the parishes of Folkestone and Cheriton; but Sandgate, the greater part of which had been embraced by Cheriton, now grown in bulk and importance, has claimed an "urban district," and pushed the mother-parish northward as far as the railway. We shall here ignore the unfilial aggression, and for awhile bestow our attention on ancient Cheriton.

"Cheriton Parish" says Hasted—and when we quote him we have to remember that he wrote more than a century ago—"is about two miles in length from the down hills on the north to the quarry hills and seashore on the south, the breadth about one mile east to west." The length has been decreased at the south by portions now assigned to Sandgate and Hythe, although the foreshore has been retained; the breadth varies much; at "The Court" or manor house it measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles. Our author further says, "the church and village stand on very high ground," which is true as regards the church, but as to Cheriton village it has yet to be discovered. The church has always stood alone on the hill, and in the hollow below it was found only the lord's manor house, "the Court," as the humbled remnant of it is still called. The schools, by the wayside, not far from the church, are modern, but the rectory, secluded among trees on the east slope of the valley, is a quarter of a mile distant. For the rest, down the valley towards the sea, and rather more than a quarter of a mile from the church where the Seabrook stream enters the valley, a corn-mill, now extinct, was the first building of a straggling village by name Horn Street (not Cheriton). Here in the old times doubtless lived the greater number of the poor parishioners who worshipped at the church, which, as was usual, stood convenient to the dwelling of the lord, to whom probably it owed foundation. Besides Horn Street, south of the church there was also Cheriton Street, a small group of houses along the main road, half a mile north-east, which group has served as the nucleus of the modern Cheriton, now extending fully half a mile towards Folkestone, with a new church, schools, and other accessories. Besides the paramount manor of Cheriton

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

Hasted mentions other six: Enbrook, Bishop's Enbrook, Casebourne, Swetton, Sweet Arden, and Ackhanger. Of these the first three fall within our notice, the latter three are beyond it; we do not learn of any residence upon them, and, indeed, their situation has become obscure.

We resume our walk from the point where we entered the old Parish of Cheriton. Another quarter of a mile along the footpath brings us to "Risborough Lane," now an important road, bordered with new houses. By it, on our left, is Enbrook manor house, in its rebuilt condition; it is the first of the few ancient seats in Cheriton which we will notice. About 140 yards before reaching the "Lane" the ground rapidly falls, and at the low level we find the spring of the Enbrook, the stream, now diminished and insignificant, which gave its name to the medieval family of the manor. This stream after flowing a quarter of a mile becomes the boundary between Folkestone and Sandgate (formerly Cheriton). The ground rises gently towards the "Lane," which a few yards on our right is spanned by the arch carrying the railway, and a little further joins the main road at "the White Lion," an old inn. On our left is the gate into the orderly premises of the manor house. We will again halt awhile to give our attention to it and its former lords.

Hasted and his predecessor, Philipott (who wrote *Villare Cantianum* in 1659), give documentary evidence of an "Einesbroc" family in the reign of Henry II (1154-89). Several members of the family are mentioned until John de Enbroke alienated the manor, *temp.* Henry IV (1399-1413); but beyond the fact of their being in possession we learn only that Michael de Enbroke, *temp.* Richard II (1377-99) was "a great benefactor to the fabric of Cheriton Church, and built the north chancel there." After Enbroke, Torold and Evering are named as successive owners of the manor, which in 1511 was held by Peter Alkeham (see *post*, p. 89), and in the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) it passed to Honywood, in which family it has continued until recent times.

When the Ordnance Survey was made in 1872 only a portion of the manor house was standing, ruins on the west side being indicated on the plan. A sketch made in 1877 shows the degraded remnant, the only external trace of former dignity consisting of a very deep roof and two chimneys, one of these a tall, handsomely fretted shaft of Tudor style, which unfortunately has not been preserved. The restoration was taken

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

in hand about thirty years ago, and we presume that, so far as was practicable, the remaining old work was incorporated with the new. The length has been increased at both ends, and now includes two houses, that to the east being higher in roof than that to the west. The appearance is that of a large commodious dwelling, pleasant to the eye in form and colour, the deep red-tiled roof, according with the walls which are faced with flat tiles of the same tint, mellowing as time passes over it. The writer would also witness to the excellent taste shown in the interior work, which he has been permitted to see. All old woodwork in panelling and ceiling beams has been prized and prominently kept in view, while all necessary new work has been made to tone with the old. Of the relics preserved, perhaps the most impressive is a medieval pointed and hood-moulded arched doorway, which, though not in its original position, now graces the garden front. Of the garden precincts it may be said that they are such as an Englishman delights in.

On reaching Risborough Lane, which, grown in importance as a thoroughfare, is on the latest edition of the Ordnance map called "Enbrook Manor Road"—we follow it about 200 yards westward, passing the ruddy mansion, until we see, on our right, the Victoria p.h.¹ Here we have "Church Road," and know it at once as our way to the chief object of our walk, the old church. A row of the small though neat houses, which too rapidly are effacing the rural charm of this neighbourhood, borders the road on our left. A short distance up the road we find, on our right, a small shabby house, an unkempt garden about it, and a few trees of little growth. This is the shrunken representative of Bishop's Enbrook; it is called "The Oaks," and was formerly "Oaks Farm," but the oaks and the farm are now of the past. The land originally formed the third part of the manor of Enbrook, which, *temp.* Henry III (1216-72), passing into possession of the Abbey of Langdon (near Dover), became a separate manor. At the Dissolution it was given to Archbishop Cranmer (hence its name, Bishop's Enbrook), and later was in the families of Sandys and Evelyn.

From Church Road, after passing the row of new houses on our left, we have a clear view of Cheriton Church against the sky, westward half a mile. The road does not trend directly

¹ The lane or road continues southward to Shorncliffe Camp which now envelopes a few old houses known as Risborough. Here the old "Unity Inn," enlarged, has become "The Papillon Soldiers' Home," the name indicating the lady by whom it was instituted originally at Sandgate.

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

towards it, and with the troops' drill-ground on our left, and cultivated land on the right, we arrive, less than half a mile from the "Victoria," at a point where five ways meet. Here an ancient and dismembered guide post points with its one remaining arm "to Folkestone," the way we have come (1); (2) is its continuation which passes by bridge over the railway to junction with the main road towards Newington; (3) trends southwards to Shorncliffe Camp; (4) is but a footway crossing the railway to the main road at Cheriton Street, off which is a fine old farmstead called "The Firs"; (5) descends into the valley where lies Cheriton Court. Out of (5) we see a path crossing a green field of lucerne to the church; this path we will not take immediately, but seek the Court in the hollow. The distance is a quarter of a mile from the old guide post, and shortly before reaching the Court a private road on the left branches off to the rectory.

The rectory is very prettily situated on the gentle slope of the valley, though so embowered in trees as not to be readily discovered. A vista of green pasture, however, opens out to it in front, and the sea is seen in the distance. The red brick house presents the appearance of a plain, comfortable three-storied dwelling, but the fact that it is no more than 120 years old is disappointing; the gardener's cottage is said to be part of an older rectory.

Hasted, in 1790, wrote of "the Court Lodge" as "an ancient Gothic building." The parish map of 1828 shows it as having three sides built round an open court, the usual ground plan of a medieval house. The greater part having been pulled down forty years since, we find to-day only the north wing, and that has been converted into three cottages of two stories, in the walls of which, besides the external face of old masonry, are seen, on the north side, a blocked-up double branch window, and on the south side the Tudor arch of a small doorway. These features, with the old joist and roof-timbers of the interior, constitute the remains of "the ancient Gothic building."

Waleran de Ceritone held land in Ceritone in 1254.¹ Waretius (= Garret) de Valoigns, Sheriff of Kent, 1334-5, had Cheriton, and, dying without male issue, *temp.* Edward II, his two daughters were his co-heirs. Thus Francis (or Thomas) Fogge, *jure uxoris*, acquired the manors of Cheriton, Swerdling (in Petham), Repen (in Ashford), and Beachborough (in Newington), and having so many seats it is questionable which was most favoured

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xii, p. 215.

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

with his residence. It is probable, however, that he died at Cheriton Court, as he is said to have been buried in Cheriton Church, *temp.* Edward III. There was a long succession of Fogges, living chiefly, perhaps, at Repton in Ashford, the church of which town is the splendid memorial of Sir John Fogge who rebuilt it, *temp.* Edward IV. One of the family, Thomas Fogge (younger son of Sir John) was Rector of Cheriton; he died in 1502, and was buried in the chancel, where he is commemorated by a sepulchral brass. He, at least, probably lived at the Court. George Fogge was the last of the line here, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, sold Cheriton and Beachborough to Henry Brockman; the date is generally given as 1573. Thus we gather that Cheriton Manor was held by the Fogges about 250 years, and that their successors, the Brockmans, who still retain it, have had it 337 years; but their *régime* has not been without a break. In the reign of Charles I—or perhaps sooner—the family was divided between Beachborough, the principal seat, and Cheriton Court. The Beachborough branch failed in 1767, when James Brockman, dying unmarried, left the estate to his cousin, the Rev. Ralph Drake, who had married Caroline Brockman, the last of the Cheriton branch. Thereon Mr. Drake took the additional name, Brockman, and the family, in one house, became Drake-Brockman of Beachborough. It cannot be said precisely when the family evacuated Cheriton Court, though it is probable that the event took place about 1760.

In later years the old house appears to have been let to farmers. The latest of these was Mr. Jesse Pilcher, who probably succeeded his father; the family is known to have been three centuries in this neighbourhood. The last tenant of the Court was wealthy and worthy, a benefactor to his parish. The village hall at Cheriton Street was built by him for lectures and meetings, and for divine service on Sundays; and ultimately on the death of his widow, and sale of his estate (for he was a considerable land owner as well as tenant), the parish benefited largely by funds for the building and endowment of a new church in modern Cheriton, and for the sustentation of the old church. The old Court requiring much repair, its demolition was decreed in 1870. Mr. Pilcher then removed to "The Firs," his other farmstead, and there died in his seventy-eighth year, June, 1873.

Casebourne Manor has not lain on our walk from Folkestone, but it will be well to give it attention before visiting

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

Cheriton Church. The situation is preserved by "Casebourne Wood," now a long, narrow slip joining at its south end a larger area of wood; the distance from the church is half a mile west. Hasted tells us that there was "a castellated mansion, the ruins of which, though overgrown with wood, were visible" when he wrote; but no trace is now found of the family that held it; we learn only of a Thomas de Casebourne in 1254,¹ and from Hasted of another Thomas de Casebourne in the reign of Richard II (1377-99), who "is reported to have lived here in great state, and [when he died] to have been buried in the chapel belonging to this mansion." The chapel was probably a part of Cheriton Church. On the death of this latter Thomas, his daughter Katherine, by marriage with William de Honywood, added to the estate of that family the manor of Casebourne.

We will now imagine that we are again at the old guide post where the ways meet, and, keeping to the high level, take the footpath across the field of lucerne towards the church. On our left we have a beautiful view of the partially wooded valley descending towards the sea, distant rather more than a mile. The footpath ends at the road, which a quarter of a mile northward joins the main road, and is the route we should have taken by carriage. A little to the left is the handsome modern lych-gate into the churchyard, and we enter by a side wicket. The space is wide and admirably kept, the many white marble crosses at the head of flower-decked graves, and the number of very fine wych-elms contributing much to the beauty of this burial-place. The broad path, from the gate to the church porch, is paved with bricks to save the burden of "the bearers."

Of Cheriton Church, Sir Stephen Glynne notes that it is interesting, but its situation lonely.² Some of us, however, may think that loneliness and silence are elements in its charm. We have arrived, perhaps a little heated and tired by our summer walk, and so the better interpret the sacred words which run under the eaves of the wide and hospitable porch: "A refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat." We accept the invitation and rest. The porch is a memorial, its construction an act of fealty to the dead, the words "*Cineri servata fides*" are read in the apex of the gable. Further, in the centre of the gable there is this inscription: "To the glory of God, and in

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xii, p. 215.

² *The Churches of Kent*, p. 119.

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

memory of the first Lord Justice of England, and of Dame Eliza his wife, whose bodies rest in this churchyard, their souls, we trust, in Heaven." Sir James Lewis Knight-Bruce was one of the two Lord Justices of the Court of Appeal first established in 1851. He died at Roehampton Priory, Surrey, within a fortnight after retirement from the bench, November 7, 1866. The death of his wife in the previous year was thought to have shortened his life; her burial at Cheriton—and therefore her husband's—was probably due to the fact that their eldest daughter was the wife of Francis G. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq., of Sandgate. A tablet within the porch indicates that it was erected to the memory of his parents by their only son; this was in 1873, when the church was restored.

The church, in its external form, can scarcely be thought handsome. The ancient western tower, severe in its simplicity, lacks bulk at the extremity of a long almost unbroken line of roof, nave and chancel having equal height. The north side is broken by projections, yet perhaps a transept is wanting to satisfy the eye; formerly the north chapel almost took the place of the transept, and, indeed, was so termed by Sir Stephen Glynne, but the late building of a north aisle has annulled the projection. The height of the eastern end, on account of the fall of ground, is remarkable, there being as much as twenty feet of blank wall beneath the sills of the chancel lancet windows; this, however, is in some degree relieved by the buttresses at the angles. On the whole the appearance of the church is pleasing, and greater symmetry can scarcely be expected in an edifice which during centuries has grown, without design, beyond its original proportions. The genuineness of the interior is very satisfactory, the nave open to the aisles on either side by three pointed arches, the chancel in its early English beauty beyond. An architectural description is not intended, that having been supplied by Canon Scott Robertson, a recognized authority on Kentish churches¹; yet, perhaps, we may trace the record of the building as read in its several parts.

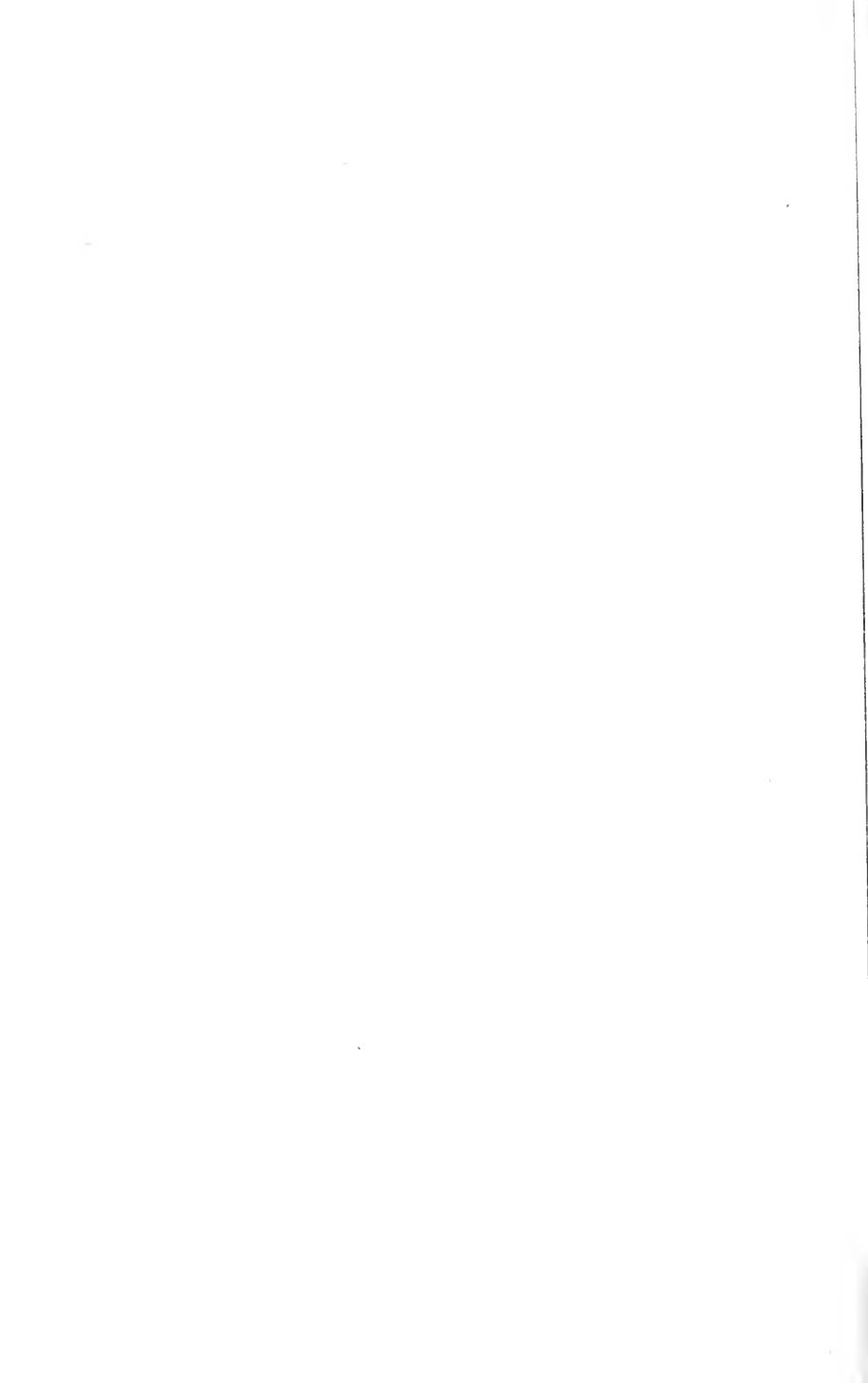
Immediately on entering, attention is arrested by the peculiar connection between tower and nave, not by a wide arch as generally seen, but by a tall, narrow ($3\frac{1}{2}$ feet) doorway headed above by a rude semicircular arch, turned in rough laminated stone. With good judgment the ancient masonry has here been left unplastered to serve as a visible sample of work which

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xviii, p. 353.



Cheriton Church.

Photograph by Halksworth Wheeler, Folkestone.



CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

the Canon cautiously termed "pre-Norman," and the restoring architect considered to date before the eleventh century, "the work by many known as Saxon." The narrow, round-headed loops seen in the external face of the tower and splayed inwardly to admit light—one of which, over the tall doorway, looks into the nave—are quite of this early type, as is also the trace of a wide, round arched western doorway, within which the existing pointed arch entrance was made at a later period.

The small primitive church seems to have consisted only of the town and a simple nave ending possibly in a small chancel. It is not probable that an early chancel covered the ground occupied by that now seen, for had a building of such length been contemplated it would have been set further back on St. Martin's Plain, and the dips of the ground avoided, which afterwards proved troublesome. The little old church served perhaps for two centuries, and in the reign of Henry III (or *c.* 1225) when the exquisite work in the Hythe chancel was done (and also the King's own work at Westminster), the Cheriton chancel was fashioned as you see it. Both the Canon and Sir Stephen (who wrote earlier, when the Gothic had been less studied) took pleasure in describing the delicate Early English work in the windows, and below them in the arcade of six recessed sedilia on both sides. The beautiful hooded arches, the moulded capitals, and Purbeck marble shafts, are fairly shown in our reproduced photograph.

The north chapel was next added. The Canon dates it as thirteenth century; yet both he and Sir Stephen thought its window of two lights "Decorated," that is of the fourteenth century. It is the "north chancel" which Hasted says *was built* by Michael de Enbroke in the reign of Richard II (1377-99), and that would be late in the "Decorated" period. Philipott, quoted by Hasted, says only that Michael was "a great benefactor to the fabric of Cheriton Church," *temp.* Richard II, and as his family is said to have possessed the manor of Enbrook two centuries earlier, and probably had their burial-place at Cheriton, it is probable that the work of Michael was no more than the renovation of the chapel. It appears sometimes to have been called the Enbrook Chapel, and it can scarcely be doubted but that it was the chancel or Chapel of Our Lady mentioned in old wills.¹ In 1511, Peter de Alkeham—a successor of the Enbrooks—provided out of his

¹ *Testamenta Cantiana*. Extracts. Arthur Hussey, ed. Kent Archæological Soc.

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

manor of Enbrook a wax taper of 2 lbs. "for Our Lady in the church [of Cheriton] for ever." And in 1517 another testator left 40*d.* "to the making of the new beam in Our Lady's Chancel." Viewing these two bequests together we conclude that the Enbrook Chapel was dedicated to Our Lady.

That the addition of the south aisle to the church was made some time in the fourteenth century is evident from the architecture. The old south wall of the nave was demolished, and three pointed arches, springing from octagonal capitals and columns, were made to open into a new south aisle. At the east end of this aisle is a good window of the "Decorated" style, the restoration of one of that character, and under it was formerly an altar to which the piscina and sedilia still witness. Now, as we have learnt that the Casebourne family had a chapel, and, moreover, as the old wills mention a "chancel of St. Katherine," we may fairly conjecture that here was the Casebourne chapel dedicated to St. Katherine. And perhaps it may be thought that the conjecture derives a little colour from the circumstance that Katherine was the name of the Casebourne heiress, and it may even be imagined that the name was favoured in the family as derived from their patroness, St. Katherine, to whom their chapel was dedicated.

Arched recesses in the wall, two in the north chapel, one in the south aisle, contain coarsely carved recumbent effigies. Of the first two, one represents a man in civilian dress, the other a lady; probably they were Enbrooks. The figure in the south aisle may have been intended for a Casebourne. Placed as they are, they are not conveniently seen, and especially are those in the north chapel obscured by the organ. Thus they are better studied in the careful drawings reproduced with Canon Scott Robertson's article. The special opinion which he had obtained as to their date was that the dress pointed to the time of Edward II (1307-27), and that from similarity in that respect they appeared to be contemporary. If this be so, we may think of the Enbrooks and Casebournes as contemporaries.

After the building of the south aisle the church remained in the same form five hundred years. Then, in 1872, it was restored ("O word of fear!"), let us say completed, for what was done was conservatively done. The south aisle had been the addition of the fourteenth century; the north aisle was the completion of the nineteenth century. In the old north wall of the nave nothing was sacrificed except a mass of ancient rubble pronounced by the architect to be of the same charac-

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

ter as that of the old tower, a very interesting fact; its features—windows and doors—had been so debased as not to be worth saving. The new arches and columns were made corresponding to the old, and the completed church was rendered worthy of its purpose.

We come out by the new Knight-Bruce porch through which we had entered, and turning round by the tower are in the churchyard on the south side. At the end of the south aisle, in the angle between it and the chancel, there is a tomb marked by a very tall and slender ornamental cross, such as were, in old times, erected to give sanctity to the place. Here repose the judge, his wife, and the son who to his parent's memory had built the porch. Until his death, in 1906, there had been no inscription save initials on the corner posts, then it was added.

Rounding the church by the chancel end we soon find on the north side the grave of Mr. Plimsoll, whose burial in Cheriton churchyard has prompted the writing of this paper. A simple white marble cross raised on three graduated blocks is at the head of a space marked out by a coping of white marble for two graves. The memorable "load line" (a level line across a circle) is engraved at the base of the cross; then follows the inscription: "Samuel Plimsoll, the Sailor's Friend," with place and date of birth and death; and then two lines of Holy Writ. A photograph of the memorial is promised for the next issue, to accompany the story which, from consideration of space, is deferred.

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

BY C. EDGAR THOMAS.

[Continued from p. 9.]

BUTTON'S

BUTTON'S Coffee-house was situated almost exactly opposite Will's in Russell Street, Covent Garden, and the most illustrious name connected with it is that of Addison. Daniel Button opened the premises in 1712, having been established by Joseph Addison, whose servant he had formerly been, and the poet at once became the ruling spirit

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

of the place. The tone of the coffee-house was both literary and political, in fact Button's may be considered in the light of the first political coffee-house, while towards the end of its career it became distinctly Whig. At different times it numbered among its frequenters such men as Steele, Rowe, Savage, Ambrose Phillips, Pope, and Swift. Pope was subjected to great annoyance and insult, and many tales could be told showing how his opponents received as good as they gave in satirical discourse and repartee, while of Addison, it is recorded that he usually studied all the morning, then met his party at Button's, dined there, and stayed five or six hours, sometimes far into the night.

A noted highwayman, by name Jemmy Maclaine or M'Clane, became a famous character of this house; he is described as a tall, showy, good-looking man. A customer named Donaldson, noting the regard Maclaine paid to the barmaid of the coffee-house, the landlord's daughter, gave a hint to the father as to the man's character. The father cautioned his daughter, telling her at the same time to whom he owed the information, and she imprudently mentioned the matter to Maclaine. The next time the highwayman met Donaldson, he said in his Irish brogue: "Mr. Donaldson, I wish to spake to you in a private room." Donaldson, being unarmed, naturally declined the invitation; Maclaine retorting that they would assuredly meet again. A few days later Donaldson was walking in the neighbourhood of Richmond when the highwayman appeared on horseback. Donaldson would probably have been shot had not at that moment a carriage come by. Maclaine came of a good stock, his father being an Irish dean, and his brother a Calvinistic minister in Holland. For some time he was established as a grocer in the City of London, but on losing his wife he gave up business, spent his savings, amounting to something like £200, and took to the road for a livelihood. He was finally apprehended in the autumn of 1750.

Dean Swift courted the acquaintance of Button's during the early part of Queen Anne's reign, and at first on account of his quaint mannerisms, none suspecting his identity, he earned for himself the nickname of the "mad parson." Contemporary writers have recorded many anecdotes illustrative of his eccentricities. One evening he turned round to the company, and addressing a gentleman who was evidently from the country, said: "Pray, sir, do you know any good weather in this world?" "Yes, sir, I thank God, I remember a good deal

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

of good weather in my time," replied the gentleman. "That is more than I can say," continued the Dean, "I never remember any weather that was not too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry; but, however, God Almighty contrives it, at the end of the year 'tis all very well."

Sir Richard Steele, while editing the *Guardian*, made Button's his editorial office. In No. 98 of that periodical was a paragraph stating that he proposed to set up a letter-box in the form of a lion's head, in which correspondents were invited to put communications which would be digested and inserted in the paper. This head remained for several years, even after the *Guardian* had ceased to exist, and on the closing of the coffee-house, it started on its travels. It was first removed to Shakespeare's Head Tavern, near by, and from thence to the Bedford Coffee-house, a celebrated literary rendezvous, where it again served as a letter-box. In 1769 it returned to the Shakespeare Tavern, where it remained until 1804, when it was sold by auction, eventually finding its way to its present resting-place, Woburn Abbey, the property of the Duke of Bedford.

A quarrel occurred at Button's between Addison and Pope in 1715, which resulted in Pope severing his connection altogether with the coffee-house. They had hitherto been great friends and regular frequenters, and there was no open split between them. Pope simply ceased to visit the place, giving out that the late hours disagreed with him. About this time a great deal of party feeling was displayed among the customers, resulting in heated discussions which dispelled the agreeable conversation and spirit of *bonhomie* that had previously existed. As before stated, Pope had ceased to visit, Swift retired to Ireland, Steele and Addison busied themselves with politics, consequently the literary club broke up. The chief attraction gone, the reputation of Button's began to decline. At the death of Addison, it ceased to be frequented altogether, and soon afterwards closed its doors; Daniel Button, his livelihood gone, received relief from the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden. He died in 1731, and in the *Daily Advertiser* appeared the following notice:

"On Sunday morning, died, after three days illness Mr. Button, who formerly kept Button's Coffee-house in Russell Street, Covent Garden, a very noted house for wits, being the place where the *Lyon* produced the famous *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, written by the late Mr. Secretary Addison and

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

Sir Richard Steele Knt., which works will transmit their names with honour to posterity."

The action of a contemporary newspaper in publishing an account of the case of the unfortunate Richard Savage, resulted in the raising of a subscription for his relief. The contributions were sent to Button's, and Savage was presented with a cheque for 70 guineas.

It was at Button's that two gentlemen once engaged in a discussion on religion, when one said to the other, "I wonder, sir, you should talk of religion, when I'll hold you five guineas you can't say the Lord's Prayer." "Done," replied the other, "and Sir Richard Steele shall hold the stakes." The money being produced, the challenged gentleman began and recited the whole of the *Creed*. "Well," said the other, dumbfounded, "I own I have lost; I did not think he could have done it."

Button's eventually became a private house, in which Mrs. Inchbald, the novelist, resided for some considerable time, occupying herself principally with the translation of plays. Whilst living here, she sold her *Simple Story*, which had been written some years before, for £200. Timbs, the biographer, states that while residing on the site of Button's, Phillips, the publisher, offered her £1,000 for her *Memoirs*, which offer, however, she declined. She died in a lodging-house at Kennington in 1821, leaving £6,000.

THE CHAPTER

The Chapter Coffee-house was noted as the resort of clergymen, booksellers, and men of letters, as well as for its goodly supply of pamphlets and newspapers, while the punch sold there was voted by common consent the best in London. Chatterton stayed here for a brief while, writing to his mother at Bristol, "I am quite familiar at the Chapter Coffee-house, and know all the geniuses there"; and to a friend of his: "Send me whatever you would have published, and direct for me to be left at the Chapter Coffee-house, in Paternoster Row." The famous "Witenagemot" was a feature of the Chapter. This consisted of a small room or box, where a class that eventually came to be known as the "Wet Paper Club," met to read the periodicals directly they were published, with the paper still wet, the news being considered stale by the time it had got dry. This company was very select, and numbered some wits and important personages, including Alexander

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

Stephens, editor of the *Annual Biography and Obituary*. His recollections of the Chapter Coffee-house were published in the *Monthly Magazine* under the title "Stephensiana."

Booksellers and doctors comprised a good part of the company, meeting there to discuss their crafts, while Cowper, the poet, and Robinson, a famous bookseller of his day, also came. Ambrose Phillips, the publisher, who about this time was starting his *Monthly Magazine*, came with his pockets full of guineas, presumably on the look-out for likely contributors.

This coffee-house was also a favourite haunt of Goldsmith and Garrick. The famous actor was of a very thrifty disposition, and a tale regarding this is worth recording. One day a weary and broken-down fiddler entered, and, after playing, handed round his hat. Everyone contributed; Foote, the player and dramatist, who was present, remarked, "If Garrick gets to hear of this he will certainly send in his hat."

In due course the original company died or ceased to patronise the place, and Stephens laments the fact that "the noisy box of the Wittinagemot was, some years previous to 1820, remarkable for its silence and dullness. The two or three last times I was at the Chapter, I heard no noise above a whisper, and I almost shed a tear on thinking of men, habits, and times gone by for ever!"

Charlotte Brontë came to London with her father in 1848, and lodged at the Chapter. In Mrs. Gaskell's *Life* may be found the following description of the premises:

"Half way up on the left hand side [of Paternoster Row] is the Chapter coffee-house. I visited it last June [1859]. It was then unoccupied. It had the appearance of a dwelling-house two hundred years old or so, such as one sometimes sees in ancient country towns; the ceilings of the small rooms were low and had heavy frames running across them; the walls were wainscotted breast high; the stairs were shallow, broad, and dark, taking up much space in the centre of the house. . . . The high narrow windows looked into the gloomy Row." In 1857 the Chapter ceased to be a coffee-house, and became a tavern. Ten years later, the building was pulled down during alterations in the Row. The Chapter was the last to carry on the coffee-house business in London.

LLOYD'S

Lloyd's Coffee-house was originally situated in Tower Street, and is first mentioned some little time before the Revolution.

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

The locality was all that could be desired for the transaction of business among seafaring folk, yet we find that Edward Lloyd, the founder, after four years, removed to Abchurch Lane, Lombard Street, here he soon afterwards started "*Lloyd's News*," which was promptly suppressed, the judges opining that the liberty of the press did not extend to gazettes. It was not until the time of George I that the famous "Lloyd's List" was first issued.

It was Lloyd's aim to bring the underwriters together, who were scattered all over the city; this he did at his new quarters, resorting to sales and other devices to popularize his premises. By 1700, his efforts were so successful that all the mercantile gentry of repute resorted to his coffee-house, which had now become a recognized place for the transaction of business. Its fame is mentioned in a poem published in 1700, entitled "The Wealthy Shop-keeper; or the Charitable Christian":

"Now to Lloyd's coffee-house he never fails
To read the letters and attend the sales."

Nothing further is known of the original Lloyd, but we read that on "11 March, 1740, Mr. Baker, master of Lloyd's coffee-house in Lombard Street, waited on Sir Robert Walpole with the news of Admiral Vernon's taking Portobello. This was the first account received thereof, and proving true, Sir Robert was pleased to order him a handsome present." Lloyd's removed some time later to Pope's Head Alley, where it received the appellation: "New Lloyd's Coffee-house"; and again in 1774 to premises situate at the north-west corner of the Royal Exchange.

The establishment continued to prosper until 1836, when it was destroyed by fire, together with the Exchange. During the rebuilding a fine set of apartments were set aside for "Lloyd's Subscription Rooms," which now became more than ever the resort of ship-owners, underwriters, insurance, stock, and exchange brokers, etc. The coffee-rooms from this date were kept separate from the rooms provided for the subscribers. It was here that all news relative to vessels, losses at sea, engagements, captures, etc., was to be had, and no reliance whatever was placed on information, unless it was "up at Lloyd's." The rooms were decorated in the Venetian style, and at the entrance to one of the apartments were exhibited the Shipping Lists. A complete set of instruments for the recording of the wind and weather was also installed. Lloyd's was renowned

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

for its auctions, and was often at the top of any subscription list. On July 20, 1803, was started the "Patriotic Fund" for the relief of the widows and families of the soldiers and sailors who fell in the war. The subscribers of Lloyd's were the first to raise the fund, voting £20,000 worth of 3 per cent. Consols; others quickly followed, and ultimately £500,000 was distributed. After the Battle of the Nile in 1798, £32,424 was raised, and before that, in 1794, £21,282 was realized. In both cases the subscriptions were paid in at Lloyd's.

TOM'S

There were several coffee-houses bearing the name of "Tom's"; one was in Birchin Lane, Cornhill, where the customers were chiefly mercantile, although Garrick is said to have sometimes gone there. It is related that some time after Garrick's death, a struggling young actor complained to his widow how the newspaper critics had ridiculed a performance of his. Mrs. Garrick replied: "You should write your own criticisms; David always did." One evening Colley Cibber was playing cards at Tom's, and had an old General for his partner. Once during the game he did not follow suit; his partner expressed surprise, and said: "What, have you not a Spade, Mr. Cibber?" Cibber, on consulting his cards, replied: "Oh yes: a thousand!"; to which his partner returned a grunt. The poet was greatly addicted to swearing, and hotly answered: "Don't be angry, for I can play ten times worse if I like."

A more celebrated house of the name was situated at 17, Russell Street, Covent Garden, and was so called from its owner, Thomas West. In 1722, whilst in a delirium, he threw himself from a window of the house, dying immediately. The upper portion of the building constituted the coffee-house; the ground floor being the shop of Lewis, the bookseller, who published Pope's *Essay on Man*.

Here came Goldsmith, Johnson, Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lord Rodney, the Dukes of Northumberland and Montague, among other illustrious men. Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart., was also a customer, and was nicknamed Long Sir Thomas Robinson, to distinguish him from his namesake, Sir Thomas Robinson, created Lord Grantham in 1761, himself a regular attendant at Tom's. One of the Robinsons was tall

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

and thin, while the other was short and fat, and Lady Townsend is credited with having said: "I can't imagine why one should be preferred to the other; I see but little difference between them, the one is as broad as the other is long."

A club was formed, with a guinea subscription, in 1764, which numbered 700 members of all classes, high and low; Haines, who was then the proprietor, obtained the premises next door, and opened them as card, reading, and conversation rooms. Others who now graced the company were Henry Brougham, father of the great Lord Brougham, Sir John Fielding, the magistrate and half-brother of the novelist of that name, Sir John Fletcher Norton, a crafty lawyer, who enjoyed the title "Sir Bull-face Double-fee," and Smollett, but then he is said to have patronized all the coffee-houses.

In the parish books of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, may be found the following entry relating to Tom's:

	£	s.	d.
46 Dishes of Chocolate	1	3	0
34 Jellies		17	0
Biscuits		2	5

Haines, the proprietor, was succeeded by his son Thomas. Cibber made this establishment his rendezvous in his later years. For some time he lived in Spring Gardens, Whitehall, and losing his watch one day, he caused the following advertisement to be circulated:

"In or near the old playhouse in Drury Lane, on Monday last, the 19th of January, a watch was dropped, having a tortoiseshell case inlaid with silver, a silver chain, and a gold seal ring—the arms, a cross wavy and cheque. Whoever brings it to Mr. Cibber at his house near the Bull Head Tavern in Spring Gardens, at Charing Cross, shall have three guineas reward." On the authority of Walpole, it is said that Cibber wrote one of his plays in a little cottage which stood formerly on the site of Walpole's mansion at Strawberry Hill. Cibber died in 1757, in his eighty-fourth year. Shortly before his death, Walpole hailed him "Good day," expressing pleasure to find him looking so well. "Egad, Sir," replied Colley, "at eighty-four it is well for a man that he can look at all." In the newspapers it was said that he was "carried to sleep with Kings and heroes in Westminster Abbey," but this is not true. His burial-place is not known, although there is a tradition that he was interred in a Danish church at Ratcliff Highway.

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

The snuff-box of the club was of fine tortoiseshell, and on the lid, in silver relief, were the portraits of Charles I, Queen Anne, and the Boscobel oak with Charles II in the branches, while at the foot was a silver plate engraved "Thomas Haines." Daniel Defoe wrote of this establishment: "After the play the best company generally go to Tom's, near adjoining, where there is playing at Picket and the best of conversation till midnight."

Tom's was closed in 1814, the premises remaining until they were demolished in 1865, when a bank was erected on the site.

DICK'S

Dick's was one of the best known of the Fleet Street establishments. It was opened, close to Temple Bar, by Richard Turner, and was promptly designated Dick's. The house was originally the printing shop of Richard Tottell, law printer to Edward VI, and Queens Mary and Elizabeth. From all accounts it boasted some fine panelling, and a handsome staircase and balustrades. Cowper, while he lived in the Temple, was a frequenter of the house.

At Drury Lane Theatre in 1737, was produced a drama entitled "The Coffee-house," having Dick's for its original. The owner of the business at that time was Mrs. Yarrow, who with her daughter was severely criticised in the play. The roving cavaliers frequenting Dick's took the matter up, and going in a party to the play-house, they howled and hooted the piece, and even extended their anger and disapproval to subsequent work of this particular author, the Rev. James Miller. When Dick's had ceased to exist as a coffee-house, the premises were occupied by Jaggard and Stephens, law stationers, and eventually by Messrs. Butterworth, who now hold the original lease.

THE MITRE

The Mitre in Fleet Street was more of a tavern than a coffee-house, and consequently hardly comes within the scope of this article, but the fascinating personality of Dr. Johnson surely warrants some little account of it. Johnson's Mitre stood at 39, Fleet Street, and was not the Mitre in Mitre Court, with which it is often confused. The historic old place had been in existence years before Johnson's time; for here it was,

SOME LONDON COFFEE-HOUSES.

a century before, that Lilly, the astrologer, met Poole; while the Royal Society, whose meeting-place was then in Crane Court hard by, held their dinners for some time at the Mitre. In Charles II's time Pepys resorted there, and the witty Dr. Radcliffe during Anne's reign. Dr. Johnson spent much of his time there, which his biographer, Boswell, has freely recorded. In his *Life of Johnson*, he says: "I had heard that his place of frequent resort was the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street, where he loved to sit up late. . . . I called on him and thither we went at nine. We had a good supper and port wine, of which he then sometimes drank a bottle. The orthodox high church sound of the Mitre, the figure and manner of the celebrated Dr. Johnson, the extraordinary power and precision of his conversation, and the pride arising from finding myself admitted to his companionship, produced a variety of sensations and a pleasing elation of mind, beyond what I had ever before experienced. . . . We finished a couple of bottles of port and sat till between one and two o'clock in the morning." And again, "at night [February, 1766] I supped with Johnson at the Mitre Tavern, that we might renew our social intimacy at the original place of meeting. But there was now a considerable difference in his way of living. Having had an illness in which he was advised to leave off wine, he had from that period continued to abstain from it, and drank only water or lemonade."

Leigh Hunt in *The Town* bore testimony to the fact that Johnson patronized nearly every tavern and coffee-house in Fleet Street, but that the Mitre was his favourite.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

BY E. VAUGHAN.

[Continued from p. 29.]

SLOWLY but surely a more rational and sober spirit was spreading over England. The little band of select scholars of all shades of political and religious opinion, who had met during the Commonwealth in Dr. Wilkin's rooms at Oxford to discuss philosophical lore and scientific research, developed at the Restoration into the Royal Society, whose in-

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

telligent inquiries into natural laws, and reasonable causes of phenomena, contributed largely towards the beneficial changes in the general attitude towards witchcraft. After the publication of the Society's *Transactions* in 1664, only two more instances occurred of the execution of "old crones" in England, one the next year, and the other in 1684, when three women were hanged in Exeter.

Two cases were tried before Lord Chief Justice Holt in Suffolk during 1694. At Bury, old Mother Mummings of the parish of Hartis, was accused of the usual tricks; she kept an "Imp like a Pole-Cat," she spoilt the brewing of wort, and had the power to damage sorely the physical well-being of her neighbours' bodies. In fact the death of her landlord, Thomas Pannel, was laid to her door, although he was known to be "a consumptive-spent Man." For it would seem that when he tried to evict the old lady, she naturally objected to the proceedings; so to get rid of her he took away her door, and left her without one. Whereupon she spake unadvisedly and said: "Go thy ways, thy Nose shall lie upward in the Church-Yard before Saturday next"; which thing came literally to pass, and the man was "buried within the Week, according to her Word." The jury acquitted her, and she died in peace with all, two years later.

Margaret Elmore was next put upon her trial at Ipswich for bewitching a certain Mrs. Rudge, and reducing her to a "languishing Condition." It was asserted that Margaret's aunt and grandmother had been hanged for sorcery, and that the latter had eight or nine imps which she bequeathed to her children; also, that the accused possessed the dread faculty of smiting her adversaries with the third plague of Egypt. But, as before, the verdict was "Not Guilty"; and Mrs. Rudge survived the witch several years, until "she fell into the same kind of Pain, supposed from the Salt Humour, and died of the Distemper."

Several other cases of supposed bewitchment came before Lord Chief Justice Holt in various parts of the country, and in each instance he secured the acquittal of the suspected persons. The last was a harmless old creature named Sarah Morduck who, after being shamefully ill-used in her own house, was tried at Guildford Assizes. There her accuser was committed for trial as "a Cheat and Imposter," and subsequently sentenced to be put in the pillory three times, with a year's imprisonment, while the long-suffering Sarah was set free.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

Naturally, witch-hunting was still a legitimate occupation in the minds of the rustic population, and many an unprotected dame may have fallen a victim to mob-law, and never been heard of beyond her own neighbourhood. The river Blackwater, winding round the little Essex town of Coggeshall, was the scene of a sordid tragedy in the summer of 1699. For some reason or another, the "Widow Comon" was suspected of dealing with the powers of darkness, and three times within as many days the wretched old creature was dragged down to the water's edge, and flung into the stream. Each time she floated, and so the witchcraft was proven. No further proceedings were taken; it may be that some more enlightened inhabitant interposed. But she did not long survive the treatment, and the next account of her, dated on the 27th of the following December, simply states that "the Widow Comon, that was counted a witch, was buried."

A warning against the brutal custom of "swimming" was delivered at Brentwood Assizes in 1712 by Lord Chief Justice Parker, who pointed out that if "the Party loose her life by it, all they that are the Cause of it are guilty of Wilful Murther." The judicial advice was no doubt much needed in Essex, for in the eighteenth century it was considered good sport to duck a witch, and the "County-People" enjoyed it as they would "Baiting a Bear or a Bull."

Still, in spite of all popular opposition, the new spirit of rational inquiry was spreading. At the time of the Restoration, belief in attributing death and disease to malevolent magic was common among the educated classes, but by the year 1718 it only survived among the illiterate, and, strangely enough, a small but noisy section of the clergy, whose spirited forefathers had been among the first to oppose the persecution of supposed witches.

In the interval no less than twenty-five works (including a few pamphlets) had appeared in defence of the belief, and among them Baxter's, but they did little to arrest the growth of enlightenment and justice, and at length the final blow was given to the iniquity of witch-hunting by the publication of Dr. Hutchinson's *Historical Essay on Witchcraft*. The law gradually became a dead letter, and in 1736 it was repealed and ceased to stain the statutes of England.

The last legal trial of any note occurred in 1712, when "some few Clergymen, otherwise Men of Reputation," as Hutchinson satirically terms them, disgracefully ill-treated a poor woman

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

called Jane Wenham, of Walkern, in Hertfordshire. The usual tests were resorted to, including stabbing with pins, and when driven half crazy, and unable to remember the Lord's Prayer correctly, she was prosecuted for witchcraft. Luckily for her, the judge was a man of "Learning and Experience," who "valu'd not those Tricks and Trials," so, although an ignorant jury found her guilty, he subsequently obtained for her a remission of the condemnation; and the poor old creature, afraid to return to her village, was taken under the protection of Colonel Plummer of Gibston, who gave her "a little House near his own, where she spent the rest of her days soberly and inoffensively." There Hutchinson visited her, and obtained "very great Assurance" that she was "a Pious Sober Woman, who could repeat both the Lord's Prayer and Creed, and other very good Prayers besides . . . with undissembled devotion," so that he came to the conclusion that her only crime was her misfortune to have lived "in such a barbarous Parish."¹

Since the repeal of the Sorcery statute, the last phase of witch-hunting has taken the form of mob-law. For not only did the unholy excitement appeal to brutalized minds, but a very genuine faith in magic continued to exist in rural districts, and indeed is alive to-day. "Swimming" continued to be practised during the eighteenth century in spite of its illegality. In 1751 an unhappy old man and his wife, who resided at Tring, in Staffordshire, were repeatedly dragged through the water until the woman was drowned, and the man only rescued just in time to save his life. One of the fiends who assisted at this deed was tried and hanged, but the populace sided with the murderer, and abused the authorities for executing an honest fellow who had delivered his village from an accursed witch.

Coming down to the nineteenth century, we find witchcraft still flourishing in the eastern counties, its main features unchanged from the days of our forefathers. The village of Thorpe-le-Soken, in Essex, contained a mischievous old witch about eighty or ninety years ago, who delighted in laying spells upon wagon wheels so that the strongest team of horses were powerless to stir. But if the carter's whip were laid across the bewitched wheel, the vehicle moved at once with ease, while Goody Gardner fled with howls of dismay. For it was held as firmly as in the seventeenth century that, if any person

¹ For a full account of Jane Wenham's case, by W. B. Gerish, see *I. C. M.*, vol. viii, pp. 65-77.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

or thing were under a spell, whatever treatment was applied to that object would be felt by the sender of the ill. Only, during the "working" of the counter-spell, no word must be spoken to the witch, or the effect is destroyed.

A man was recently living in the neighbourhood, who, in his childish days, had been reduced to a "pindling" condition by the Thorpe sorceress. He was probably a sickly little boy, and his ailments were doubtless due to natural causes, but in the opinion of the good grandmother, who reared him, he was "overlooked." Accordingly she used the (from her point of view) only available treatment, which was to cut off closely his toe and finger nails, his hair and his eyebrows; then casting all the result of her operation upon a slow fire, she put the child on a chair by the hearth to watch them consume, and "dared" him to speak. As usual in these accounts, the witch soon came knocking outside, apparently in great misery of mind and body, and her "striving and praying" for a word of pity so worked upon the boy that he called loudly for his grannie to come to "that o'd woman at the door." Of course it was all spoilt: the witch went off gaily, while the mortified grandmother could only vent her disappointment upon the unlucky cause of the failure by "fetching him a rare slap on the jaws." However, he survived that, as well as the "over-looking," and lived to be an elderly man.

The last scene in Dame Gardner's life affords a terrible illustration of the intimate connection between superstitious fear and hideous cruelty. Her little hut was situated upon a wide open green, where donkeys browsed and geese stalked about in solemn state. One day a brood of goslings fell ill, and most of them died; whereupon the owner, suspecting the evil eye, burnt the remaining two alive. Whether any barbarity was practised upon the old woman at the same time is an open question, but if so, it was never found out. Elderly inhabitants of Thorpe, whose parents were living at the time, only relate what their fathers declared unto them—that within three days the village was rid of the witch, who lay dead within her squalid home with marks of burning upon her.

Uncanny old crones might have been found during the middle of the last century in the picturesque village of Finchingfield, situated in the north-west of the same county. Both Nancy Daysley and Nanny Benham had an evil report in the young days of some old people yet living, and it was

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

considered wise to "speak them fair." Straw plaiting was a great industry at that time, but if a malicious glance from the witch fell upon some poor woman's work, the coil would not grow all day, plait she never so industriously. The two witches had their abode at Duck End, a corner of the village where a small streamlet still justifies its name, it being the original ducking-place for scolds. From the same spot in those times would start a cart with a wretched culprit tied behind for a "hiding," a most attractive spectacle in the eyes of Finchingfield's forefathers, who crowded upon the adjoining causeway to see the "frolic." No doubt many regretted that such a wise institution had gone out of fashion when one or another of the witches were up to "crafty tricks."

Nanny came to words with the Squire over her hens, which roamed at large over the latter's pastures, and did so much damage that he threatened to shoot them; she retorted by bewitching his cows, and one dropped down dead. There was a suggestion of "swimming" her, but she went on in her naughty ways unmolested. When Master Hitchin killed a fine fat pig she coveted that dainty portion of the interior called "the pluck," but upon calling to demand it, the pig's owner explained that he had just given it away to a neighbour. So Nanny went off in search of her successful rival, and overtaking her with the desired pluck, cast upon it her evil eye, thereby reducing it immediately to that untempting condition known as "high." The "counter-spell" was tried of burning the pluck, but rendered of none effect by the usual cause; the entreaties of the witch causing one of the performers in the magic rite to break silence.

Even in the present day, imps have been said to exist, and an Essex cottage is well known to the writer where, in the childhood of middle-aged people, an old cobbler lived, a terror unto his neighbours. Not only was he aware of what went on behind his back in the most uncanny fashion, but he also kept three little imps, like unto white mice, and their names were "Snowdrop," "Pickpocket," and "Lift-the-latch."

It may be of interest to conclude this brief history of witchcraft by the narration of the last murder that took place in England for suspected sorcery. This occurred in the year 1863 at Sible Hedingham, a rural village about seven miles from Finchingfield; the victim was an old deaf and dumb Frenchman, whose real name was never discovered, but from

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

his infirmity he was known as "Dummy." At one time he had resided at Braintree, and, taking his nationality into consideration, it is conjectured that he was attracted to that town by the French origin of Messrs. Courtauld's firm, at whose crape factory he obtained work. Afterwards, he removed to a hut at Sible Hedingham, where he eked out a scanty living by pretending to tell fortunes, and performing other mysteries. He made use of grotesque gestures to convey his meaning, but the chief mode of communication with his clients was by writing; some hundreds of fragments of dirty paper were found after his death, containing such queries as "Her husband have left her many years, and she want to know whether dead or alive"; and "What was the reeson my Sun do not right? I meen that Solger." Love letters of maidens to their sweethearts were among his store, with foolish questions scribbled in pencil across them, of which "Shall I marry?" and, "How many children shall I have?" may be taken as examples. One note was curt enough, and doubtless indicated a cruel deed; "Did you say we killed your dog? if you did, I will send for policeman." The old man's patrons were not all of the peasant class; one letter, apparently from a servant, states that "The lady is cumen herself on Monday to see yoo, and she give you oll them things, and one shillen."

Dummy was a great collector of walking-sticks, possessing over 400 of them, and hoarding them amid a load of rubbish, in company with umbrellas, tin boxes, French books, and foreign coins. Probably his only friend had been the faithful dog whose sad end is hinted at. In lonely squalor he spent his uncanny but harmless existence; an object of superstitious dread and dislike to his neighbours, who, however, did not scruple to make use of his "currin" knowledge whenever they needed it. So matters went on, and it was not till Dummy was over eighty years of age that the long pent-up storm of fanatical hatred and terror broke forth. It began in a trivial way, and the circumstances have all the familiar features of the seventeenth century details.

A certain Mrs. Smith kept a little shop some distance from the village, into which the wizard walked one evening with the request that he might be allowed to sleep at nights in a snug shed situated in her yard; which desire was granted. But, after a few days, the woman objected to her odd tenant, and ordered him off the premises. An angry scene ensued, and when at length the old man, after many gesticulations, took

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

his leave, he scrawled upon the doorway that Emma Smith would be ill in ten days. Of course she was overtaken with sickness just as she expected to be, developing symptoms of a most peculiar and distressing nature. And as no medical aid did her any good, although one doctor came thrice in one night, the cause of disease was evident: she was bewitched, and none but the sender of the spell could remove it.

So one evening in early autumn, Mrs. Smith, accompanied by sympathizing friends, betook herself to the "Swan" public-house, whereunto Dummy was known to resort, and cheer his solitary life for an hour or so. Upon this night, however, he soon found himself very unpleasantly placed in the midst of an enraged group. The proceedings were commenced by the invalid, who, upbraiding him for all her illness, "begged and prayed" him to go home with her and heal her, offering him as payment three sovereigns, but he only shook his head, and drew his hand across his throat, to intimate that he would rather kill himself. A man who was present tried to effect a counter-spell by endeavouring to make the wizard kiss the afflicted lady, but to this she objected, saying that she had got a husband of her own for that remedy. So her champion then "walked" the old man, seizing him, and making him "dance" round the room. This unwonted exercise soon resulted in a fall, but after being picked up, and given some beer to revive him, Dummy was made to "jump round" as before, and this performance was kept up for more than an hour, although a second fall occurred. Meantime Emma Smith got possession of his hat, taking therefrom two books, one of which she put into her pocket, and the other she "plucked" to pieces, saying, "That's the book he's done me by." A number of women were present, and fanned the flames by keeping up a pitying chorus of "Oh dear! How bad the woman du look!"

The evidence upon the next act in the miserable tragedy is confused and conflicting, each party denying their guilt and accusing others. But it is clear that the exhausted Frenchman, who evidently escaped from his enemies for a few minutes, and was crouching on the ground outside the "Swan," was dragged to a brook near by, and flung into the water, either by one of the men, or Mrs. Smith herself. Most of the witnesses charged the latter with the initiative, but said the man assisted by wading across the brook, and pushing his victim back from the other side. There is no doubt he was repeatedly immersed,

WITCHCRAFT IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

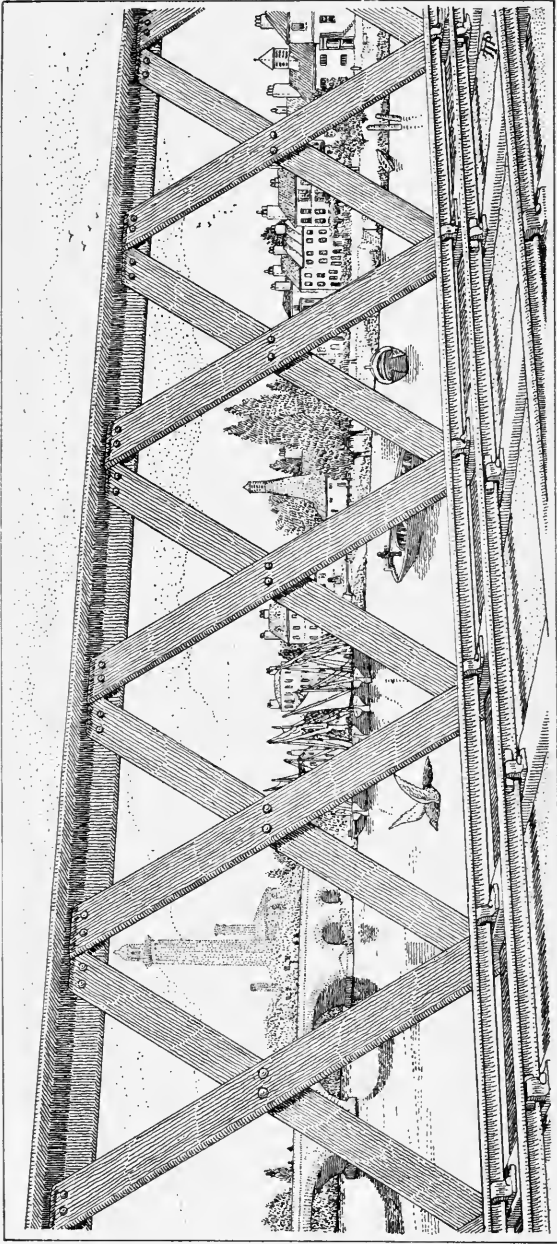
and when at length he managed to crawl out, Emma called for a stick, and tried the "blood" cure by striking him on his head and shoulders, and calling him a devil. None of the crowd interfered, and the only mild protest came from a certain John Petit, who took the stick away, and advised its disuse, or folks might be "responsible." Mrs. Smith said she would not hurt him for the world, so she kicked him instead. "She seemed" (said John in his evidence) "in a very strange way," but he only thought it his business to follow at "some distance" when the next move was down Watermill Lane, and he "thought" he heard "the female" yell out the order to "swim him in the mill-head."

Upon hearing a splash, the cautious John ventured to draw nearer, and saw the poor old creature, whose crippled tongue had apparently been trying to cry "Murder," again floundering pitifully in the deeper waters of the mill stream. Two on-lookers suggested he might be drowned if not rescued, so one of his assailants dragged him out of the water, and laid him on the grass. Then a woman called Mrs. Bruty came forward, and, although she confessed to supernatural fears of Dummy, assisted to "get him home." But inside that wretched hut, no one dare venture. John Petit went as far as the door, and made signs that the dripping clothes had better be removed, but he was afraid to offer any ministrations to the half-drowned man, who lay all night alone in his soaked condition.

With the morning came kindly aid, but it was too late. He was found to be in a state of collapse, greatly bruised upon his head and shoulders, and screamed when the wet and muddy garments were removed. So they carried him to Halstead Workhouse, where the merciful end came swiftly; and the medical certificate attributed his death to "pneumonia, caused by immersion."

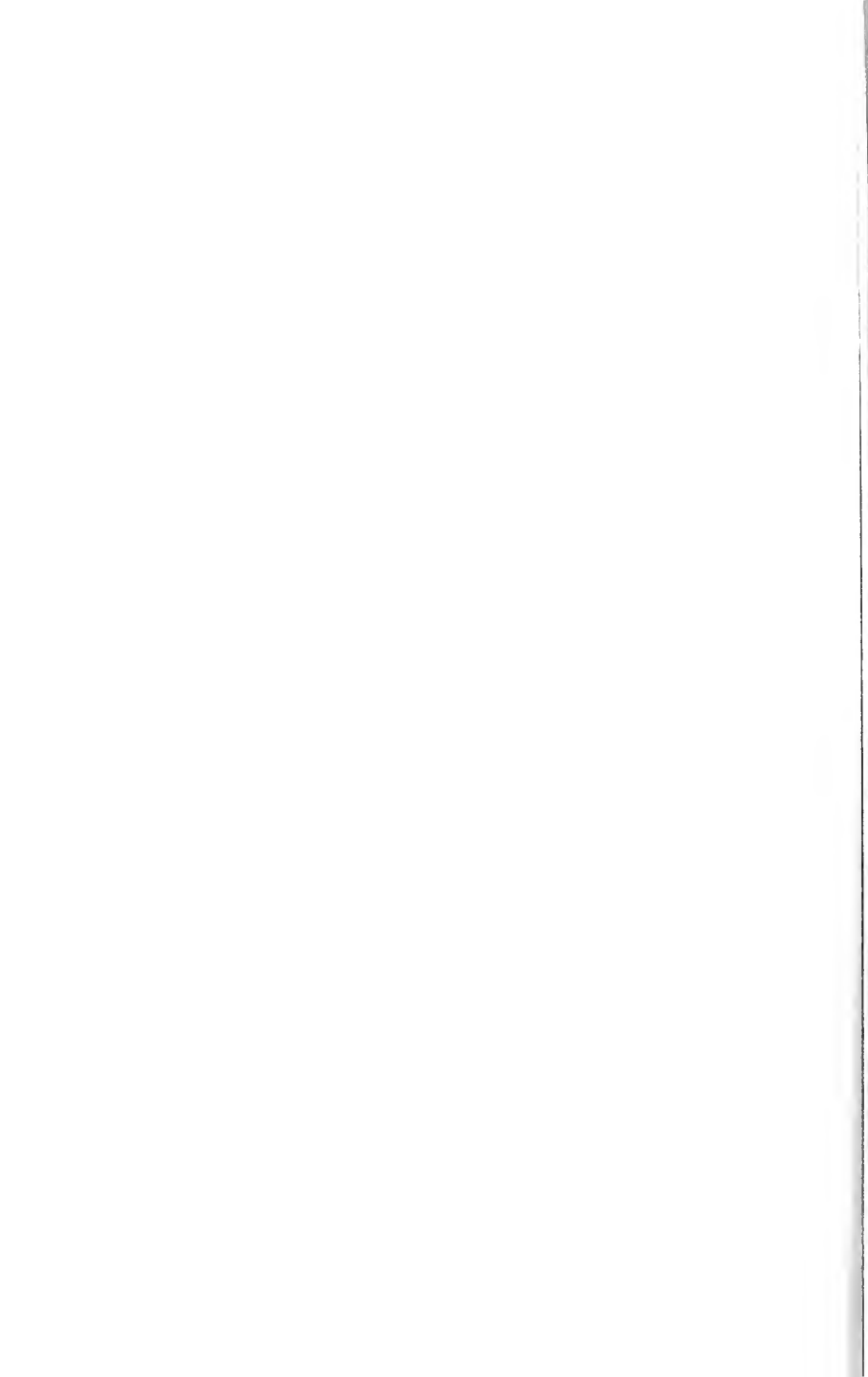
Two persons were apprehended, Mrs. Smith and one of the men, but at the inquest the jury were only unanimous in finding the woman guilty of manslaughter, and could not agree to convict the man. The case was then brought before the local magistrates, and resulted in the two accused persons being committed for trial to the Assizes to be held at Chelmsford in the following March before Lord Chief Justice Erle. There the jury returned a verdict of "Guilty" against both culprits, who, however, only received sentences of six months hard labour in the county goal.

Since that time, it is believed that no life has been lost for



Strand-on-the-Green: A Glimpse from the Railway.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

witchcraft in England, and "swimming" has ceased to be. But the belief is alive to-day, lingering on in old-world districts and villages, where, over neighbourly cups of tea, elderly dames will yet relate how Nanny Benham "overlooked" the pluck, and Goody Gardner slew the geese.

STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

BY J. TAVENOR-PERRY.

THE Parish of Chiswick has, roughly, the form of an equilateral triangle with two of its sides, the south-east and the south-west, washed by the Thames, while the northern or land side was crossed by an open gravelly waste or common which was generally known as Turnham Green, and is now only represented by the small open space to which that name is now confined. This waste land was intersected by two main roads from London, running nearly parallel to each other, but uniting at a point near the commencement of Old Brentford immediately opposite to the present Brentford market. These two roads were the British trackway, which led from the ford at Westminster towards the west of the country, and the main Roman road which passed across the north of London from Colchester to Silchester; and of these two roads, curiously enough, the earlier is the only one which can still be walked for its entire length through Chiswick. The courses of these two roads are laid down by Mr. Montagu Sharpe on the valuable map prefixed to his *Antiquities of Middlesex*, though necessarily to a very small scale; but properly to appreciate the endurance of the British trackway its course must be followed on foot, or the map compared with a large-scale plan of the locality, and anyone starting to walk from Hammersmith to Kew Bridge on the south side of the way, may follow its exact original line without the least deviation. Immediately after emerging from King Street, Hammersmith, it will be noticed that the footway parts from the roadway, leaving an ever-widening space of vacant land between, in some parts irregularly built over with small houses the owners of which can only show a "squatter's" title to the site, until at Turnham Green the space between the path and the road has increased

STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

to the whole width of the Common. From this point it again becomes an independent highway road under the name of "Wellesley Road" and at the end of that it merges in the present modern high road which continues through Brentford.

The course of the Roman road from the angle of the present Goldhawk Road in Hammersmith to the Bollo brook, at the west end of Turnham Green has been, to a great extent, obliterated, although it was shown to exist in 1824 and was coloured as a high-road on Crutchley's inch-scale map of the *Environs of London* of that date. The principal causes which led to its alteration at so recent a date were the constructions of the West London and London and South-Western Railways, the latter of which followed, to a great extent, the same line across Acton Common as the road did; it is still, however, possible to follow it for some way across Stamford brook and through Bedford Park and Back Common and trace it on to the point where it joined the present high road near the old Pack Horse tavern.

At the west end of the original Turnham Green Common where it abutted on the river, and in a south-easterly direction from the end of the two roads we have just described, after their junction, extended one of those gravelly banks which, rising above the high tides, early attracted settlers along the northern shores of the Thames, and formed the beginnings of such important villages as Chelsea, Fulham, and Brentford. The character of its formation together with its position on the edge of a common no doubt suggested the very simple name of Strand-on-the-Green. There is nothing to show when it first adopted or received its descriptive appellation, but it may be fairly assumed that it was at no very recent date, since, although the word "strand" is in common use in the language, particularly in poetry, it but seldom occurs as a place-name, and when it does it seems to have had a Danish origin. We have it in Overstrand and Sidestrand, two Norfolk villages in a district where there had been a Danish settlement, and the Strand of Westminster has always been associated, together with the neighbouring church of St. Clement Danes, with some episode in Anglo-Danish history; and as we know that the Danes in 879 wintered in their moated camp in the adjoining parish of Fulham, it is not beyond the bounds of probability that some visitors from that camp may have founded a colony here.

If such was the origin of Strand-on-the-Green, for the first few centuries of its existence its history is veiled in obscurity,



Strand-on-the-Green: The Beginning of the Old Water Road.

Drawn by J. T. 1881.



STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

and when we get the first glimpse of it, early in the eighteenth century, we find that Bollack described it as "a straggling place by the Thames' side, stretching itself almost to Old Brentford, inhabited chiefly by fishermen." Gradually to these fishermen's cottages, many of which are still remaining, were added boat-builder's sheds and maltings, and in consequence of the residence of the Court at Kew, in the near vicinity, the building of Kew Bridge, and the increasing number and importance of the mansions in the immediate neighbourhood, private houses of the better class were built; and by the close of that century the place had assumed much the appearance it presented within the memory of many still living before the incoming tide of suburban improvements robbed it of so many of its charms. The recollection seems but recent to many who may have travelled in the Spring time of the year to Kew Gardens by train of the last stage of the journey when, after a run through blooming orchards between red-brown crumbling garden walls, the train suddenly emerged on to a bridge crossing the Thames, and a hasty glimpse was caught of a medley of barges and maltings, houses and foliage, strewn in picturesque confusion along the river's marge and reflected in its placid waters. (Fig. 1). But although the trains still dash across the bridge, electrically driven, the glory of the vision is tarnished, and the few remnants of its charms may last but a little longer; the gravelly strand is choked with mud, the maltings have been dismantled or shorn of their louvres and the flowering orchards have been cut down by the speculating builder. Yet, until a very few years ago, Strand-on-the-Green, in spite of the railway and its hideous bridge which slash across the middle of it, remained a quiet riverside hamlet, embosomed in its trees, on the way to nowhere, and almost inaccessible save by water; with the shingle for its high road and a shelf of walling along the house fronts for its promenade, its people pursuing their simple avocations of fishing, malting, or boat-building, undisturbed by the sound of the church-going bell or the seductions of a railway station.

Much of the peculiar character of Strand-on-the-Green was due to its road, which was not merely a waterside road, but a road which was under water at nearly every high tide. The strand was of a hard clean shingle, cleansed by the tide and stream, and innocent of the mud which of late years has been suffered to accumulate over it; so that when it was covered by the tidal water it was as safe and easy to traverse as the ford

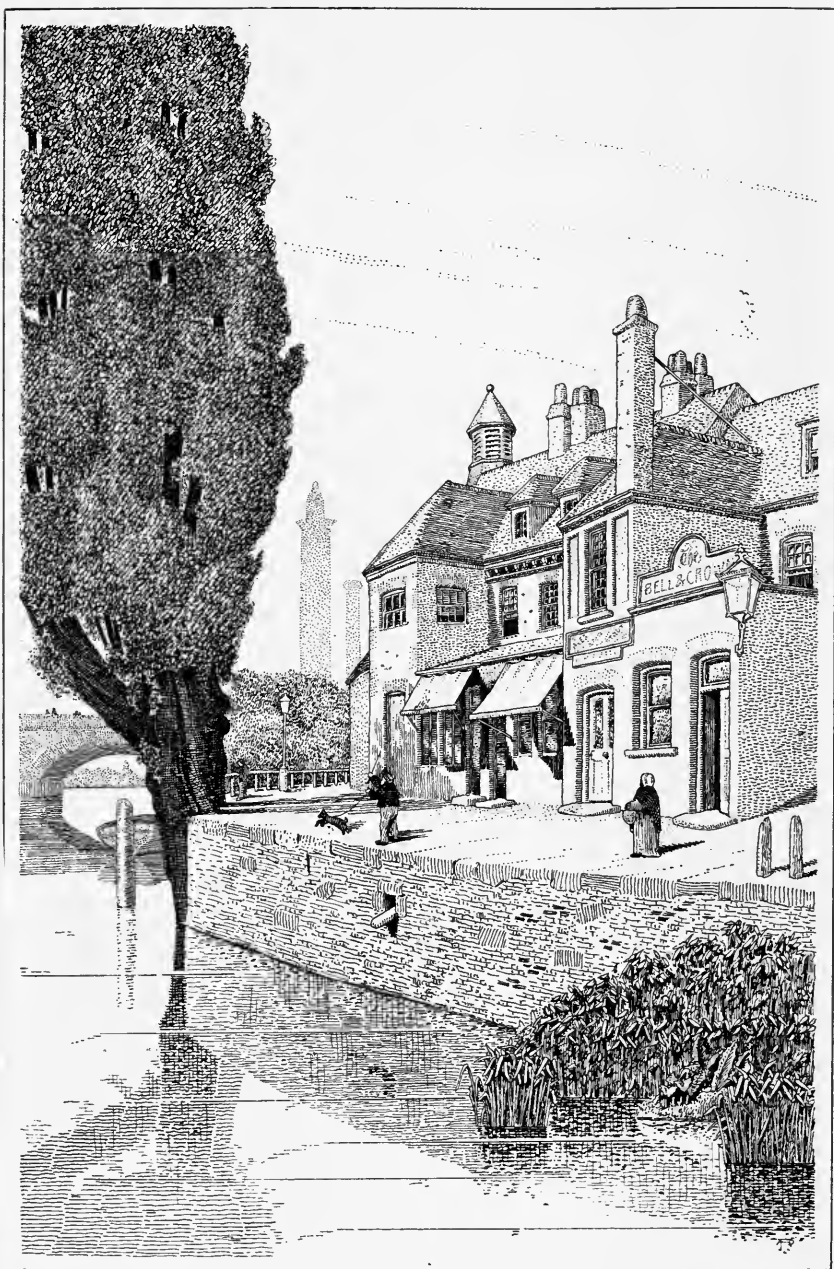
STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

across a river. In this respect it was doubtless like the London Strand, which could scarcely have obtained that designation had it been, as it now is, merely a riverside street separated by a line of buildings from the water, but which must have gained its name before the great medieval palaces were built along its foreshore. Such a "strand" remained in Chelsea almost within the memory of some still living, known as "the way under the willows," which extended from Lindsay Row to Chelsea Farm, the seat of Lord Cremorne; and by this way Lady Cremorne and her guests drove from Cheyne Walk.

The water road of Strand-on-the-Green stood well above the general foreshore and not much below the foundations of the houses and was, in fact, a portion of the bank on which they were built, so that it was only quite at high tide that the river flowed over it; and it was the wilful, or at least considered, destruction of this roadway to enable the barges and other craft to be brought up close alongside of the river wall which gave a death-blow to the picturesque characteristics of the place. The road still remains more or less complete in front of some of the private houses, but the many gaps which have been made in it are covered, and display at every low tide a layer of odoriferous mud. The great deterioration in the cleanliness of the bank may also be attributed to a reduction in the scouring force of the stream by the construction of the half-tidal lock at Richmond, which thus permits the unpleasant mud, which was before time carried away by the current, to accumulate.

Along the front of the houses a rude embankment wall had been built, rising some three or four feet above the roadway; it sustained a terrace or pathway giving access to the houses in all states of the tide. As this little embankment was the property of each individual house-owner it was constructed in various ways of varying widths, but with flights of steps before the more important houses down to the roadway for their carriage visitors. The whole length of the place was planted with trees by the various owners, perhaps in a somewhat haphazard manner, and these are shown on Roques' map, but they became gradually lost by old age and neglect; and among those still remaining are elms, willows, and Lombardy poplars, which last have been much deformed in recent years by "topping."

Before further dealing with the roadway which formed an



Strand-on-the-Green: "The Bell and Crown" (now destroyed).

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.

STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

important link between Kew Ferry and Burlington and Sutton Lanes, we will walk the length of the terrace. The short piece of road from Kew Bridge, by which the place is reached, always stood well above the tide-way, and the space between it and the river was, until recent years, open ground planted with trees which have now given place to model laundries and equally unpicturesque buildings. On the roadway behind these, among some mean and modern houses, stands an old public-house with a large deserted garden in front of it, which till lately bore the sign of the "Indian Queen," and doubtless belonged to the era of the Princess Pocahontas; but it has lost its license and will shortly disappear. At the end of this short road we reach the beginning of Strand-on-the-Green, which presents much the aspect shown in our view (Fig. 2), although the poplars have been recently mutilated and the picturesque maltings is closed and will no doubt soon be pulled down. At this point, where the way is now closed by a gate, the old road took to the water, and a very narrow alley, once known as Back Lane, which has been recently widened and dignified by the name of Thames Road, divided the old houses from the orchards in their rear and gave an access to them when floods or specially high tides overflowed the terrace. About this point also was the Middlesex end of the Kew Ferry which crossed to the Surrey side to the end of the "horse oad" from Richmond which passed along the east side of Kew Green, but which Ferry became disused when Kew Bridge was built a little further up the river.

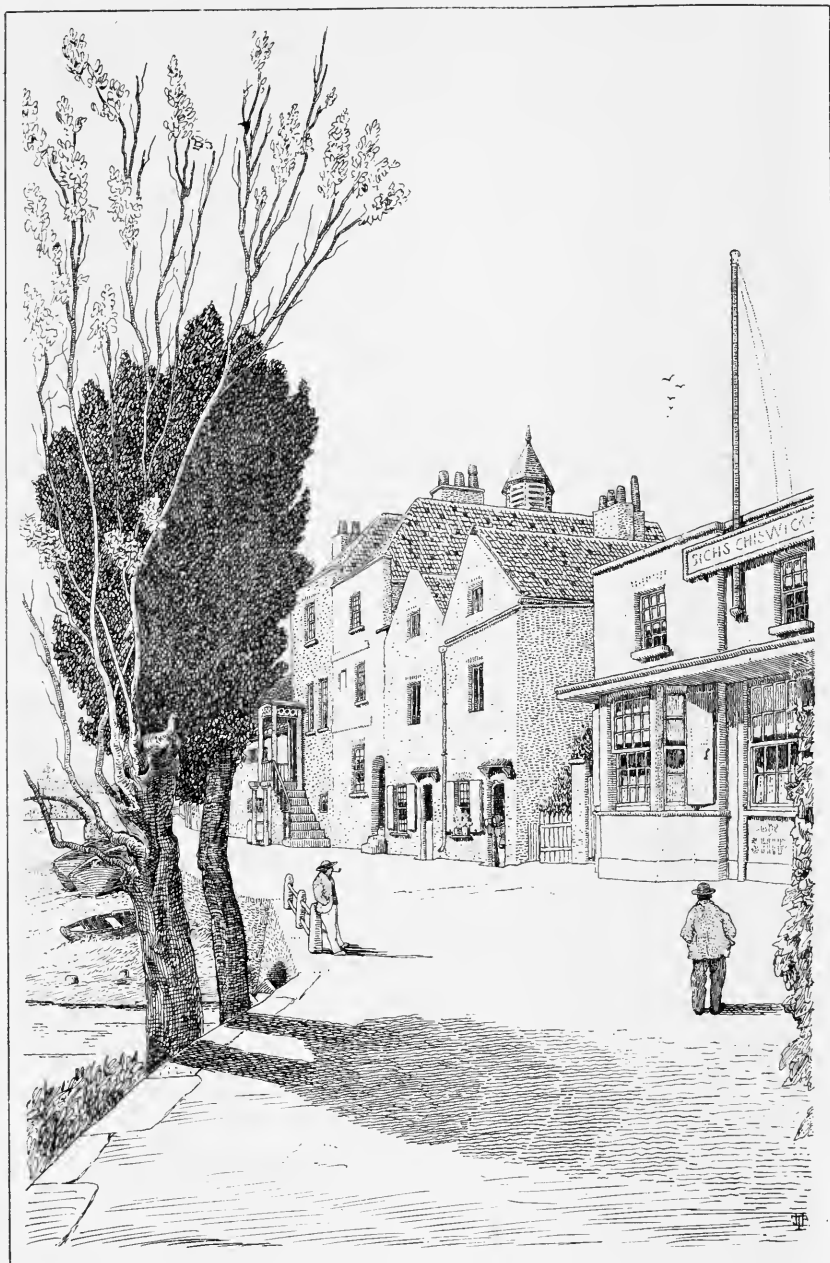
Immediately after passing the maltings we come to a picturesque house (Fig. 3), part of which formed the "Bell and Crown" public-house, recently destroyed. This is one of the best of the older houses and may be pre-Georgian in date, but no legend as to its building and occupation seems to attach to it. By the "Bell and Crown" was a narrow turning which, according to Crutchley's map of 1824, crossed Back Lane and led up to the lane now known as Wellesley Road, and it was probably the way by which Kew Ferry was reached from Arnham Green. Its connection with that road, however, has been severed, and almost all traces of it destroyed by the South-Western Railway; but the short piece left between the terrace and Back Lane is interesting for the records on its walls of the heights reached by extraordinary floods much as we may see among the river-side towns along the Loire.

beyond this turning comes a group of flat-faced three-storey

STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

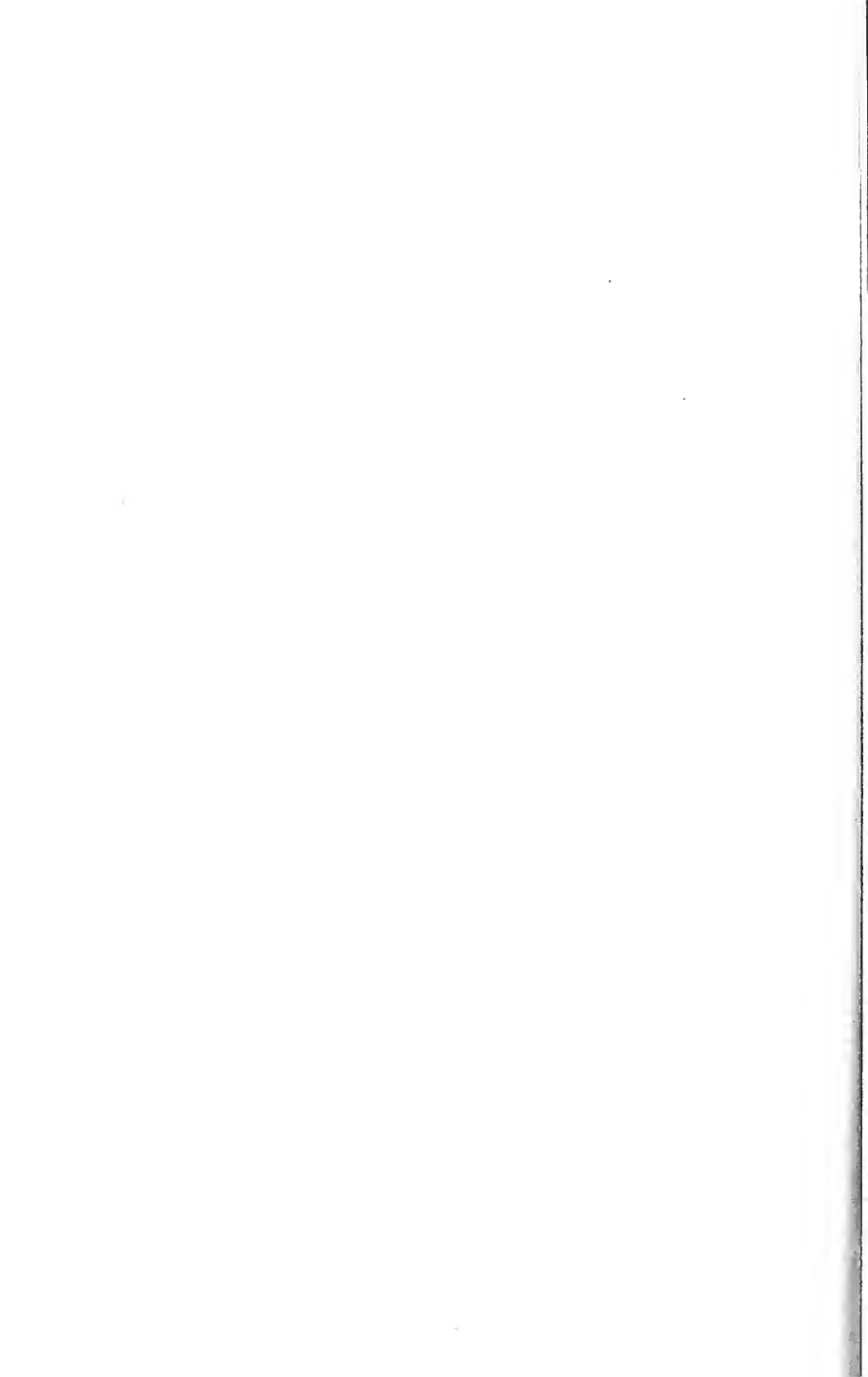
houses of the mid-Georgian period, with their monotony only a little broken by some added bow-windows, but all of them rejoicing in distinctive names, of which two, Zacchary and Arakne, may point to some forgotten association; but the most important of them, which is double-fronted and has some architectural pretensions, is named "Zoffany House" after the painter who lived here and was, perhaps, its builder. To this house he retired after his successful painting tour in India as the place was handy to the court of his patron George III at Kew; and Queen Charlotte's coach, it is said, not infrequently drew up on the water-washed road in front of his steps. Zoffany presented some of his religious compositions to the neighbouring churches, and one of these still hangs in the rebuilt church of St. George at Old Brentford; but the one he was supposed to have given to his parish church of Chiswick as an altar-piece, representing David with his harp, accompanied by a small boy with the two Tables of the Law and calling the King's special attention to the seventh commandment, was discovered, on the restoration of the building, with almost suspicious convenience, to be of doubtful authenticity and was turned out of the church.

Adjoining this group is a long maltings, now used for other purposes, and several picturesque houses (Fig. 4), and beyond is an open space through which a small brook came down from the land behind, the terrace being carried over it by a small bridge. At the corner of the space is the "Ship" public-house, now closed, and next to it a large pretentious row of more modern brick houses; and to these succeed a confused range of maltings, barge-builders' shops, and small houses, at the end of which we come to the public-house known as the "City Barge" (Fig. 5). This sign recalls the fact that during the summer the "Maria Wood," when not required for civic purposes, was moored in front of this house, and that during the winter it was laid up in a shed, still standing, on the Surrey side, facing Strand-on-the-Green. This gorgeous example of naval architecture was built for the Corporation in 1816, and restored in 1851 at a cost of £1,000, but, according to Mr. Lloyd Sanders in his *Old Kew, Chiswick and Kensington*, it was sold eight years afterwards for £416. It was, however, still in the City's use in the eighties, as the writer of this article then had the pleasure of spending a day on board with a Corporation Committee, engaged at luncheon and other arduous duties "up the river"; but not long since the remains of it, used as a coal



Strand-on-the-Green: "The Ship" (now closed).

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

hulk, were to be seen outside the "London Apprentice" at Isleworth.

A little beyond the "City Barge" the iron girder bridge crosses the Thames carrying the South-Western Railway to Kew; and beyond that again we come to the "Bull's Head," the sixth but last public-house in our short walk (Fig. 6). In spite of its modern appearance this house has some fair claim to a moderate antiquity, and the legend which associates it with the Protector may not be without foundation. His daughter, Mary Cromwell, was married to Lord Fauconberg, whose residence at Sutton Court was close by; and he may have frequently taken the water, after visiting her on his return to Whitehall or Hampton Court, from the steps in front of the "Bull's Head," or even rested for a while within it when waiting for his barge.

After passing a row of simple cottages with front gardens, generally very gay in summer-time, we come to a set of one-storey almshouses with their fronts turned away from the river, and the end of them facing it and occupied by an inscription which records the fact that they were built in 1724 by a local carpenter, who erected one of them "at his own charge." Beyond these lowly dwellings we come to the last and by far the largest of the private houses in the place, now known as "The Elms" from the very fine specimens of those trees which stand towards one side of it on the terrace wall, although those in front of the house are magnificent Lombardy poplars. A large garden behind and at the side of it is surrounded by an exceptionally high wall, as to which there was some local legend which was mixed up with an exciting story of the Spanish main. It was said that an English admiral, who had been sent to the West Indies to search for some lost treasure, returned with a very bad report of the result of his expedition and had retired to end his days in this sequestered retreat, when a suspicious government sent down to Strand-on-the-Green a gang of men to dig over his garden and search, once more, for the lost treasure. Believing in the truth of the story, it is said that the speculating builders who have settled in the neighbourhood like a swarm of locusts, destroying every green thing, are very anxious to acquire the site for their operations and to investigate themselves the nature of its subsoil.

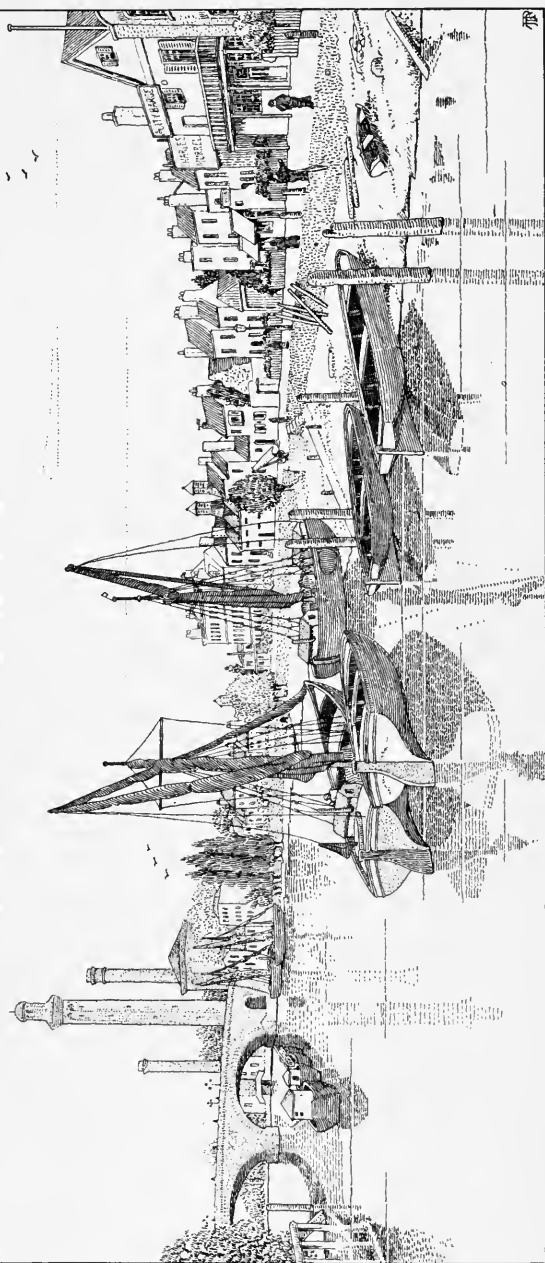
At this point Strand-on-the-Green comes to an end, as a low-lying road gradually rose above high-water mark and

STRAND-ON-THE-GREEN.

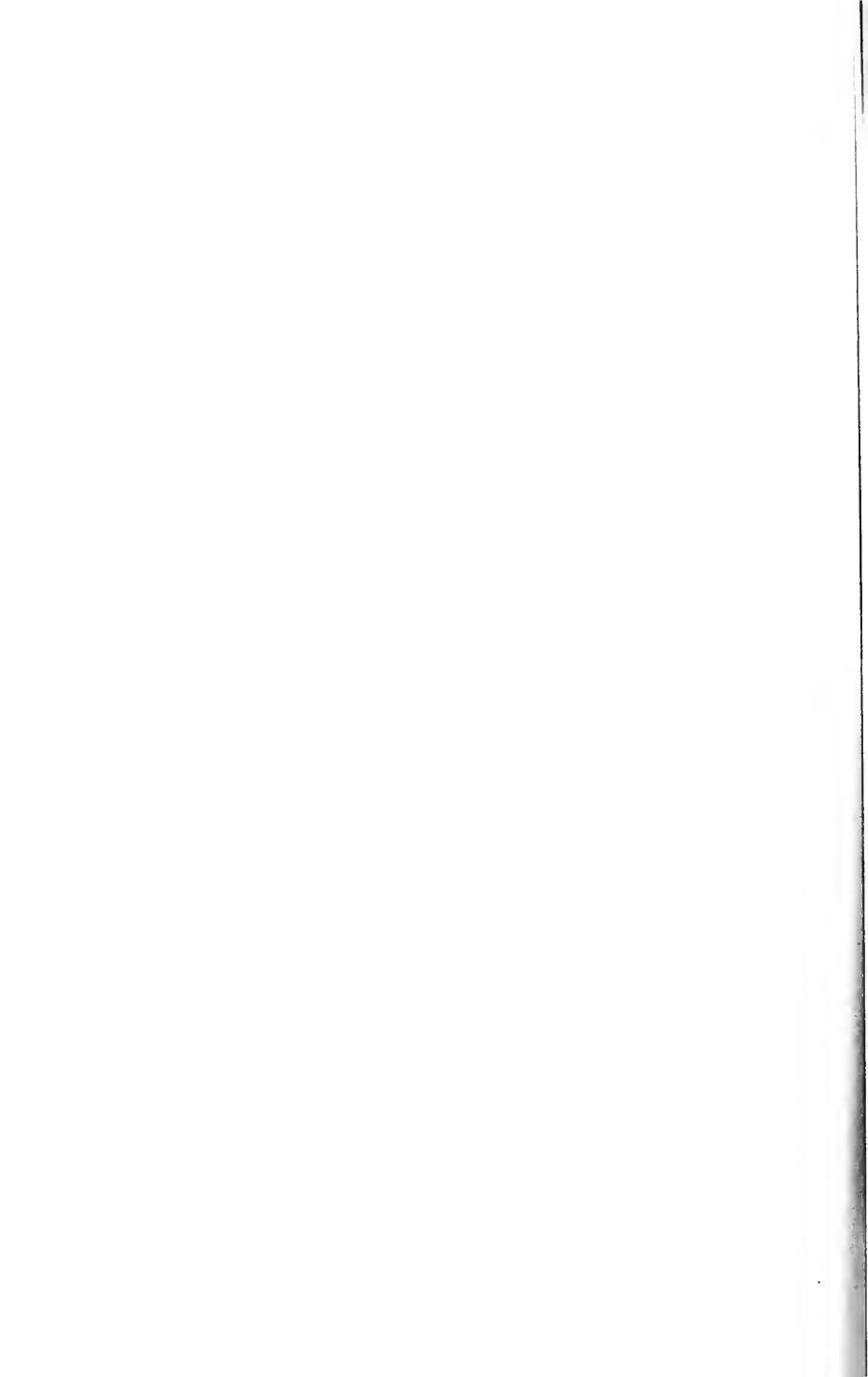
connected itself at an angle to Burlington Lane in front of Grove Park; but the story of the alterations which have taken place in this part of Chiswick are beyond the scope of this paper.

We must, however, refer once more to the road which passed in front of the terrace wall, as it not only served for the houses themselves, but as a thoroughfare for those who, particularly after Kew Bridge was built, preferred the water-side way to London by the Chiswick and Hammersmith Malls on through Fulham and the King's Road, Chelsea. It may seem strange that any should have selected so circuitous a route when there was so direct and wide a road as that from Brentford to Kensington; but it is to be remembered that until this was made up in 1816 by Macadam it was in almost as deplorable a condition as any by-lane, and so unsafe was it on account of robbers and footpads that a special guard-house had to be built on one side of it near Gunnersbury Lane—where it still stands with the War Office plate of the last reign on it—to be occupied by soldiers from Hounslow when the court was at Kew and the king was likely to ride that way to London. But before Kew Bridge was built the landing place of the Kew Ferry at the end of Strand-on-the-Green was in constant use by those who were passing by land to town; and it is evident from the accounts remaining of the assassination plot against William III that this was the point the King selected for crossing over to his weekly hunt in Richmond Park. Macaulay describes the winding character of the lane by which William passed from the river up to Turnham Green, and it seems clear from the description that it was either the lane which led up from the "Bull and Crown," at one end of Strand-on-the-Green, into the Wellesley Road, the old British track-way, or else up Sutton Lane, direct on to Turnham Green at the other end. Macaulay states in his journal that he visited the site and was easily able to identify it; but unfortunately he does not give us the details of his identification.

The water-way of Strand-on-the-Green has long since ceased to be passable, and the place no longer presents many attractions to the private resident; while the crowd of mean houses which are being built around it, and the work-shops and stores into which the maltings and houses are being turned are rapidly destroying those charms which have for so long attracted the lovers of the picturesque.



Strand-on-the-Green: The Terrace.
Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

BY CHARLES V. O'NEIL.

[Continued from p. 38.]

WE do not find in Surrey, as in Middlesex and some parts of Hertfordshire, the network of green lanes, which, although one of the most charming local characteristics, tells of the rural population having fallen away to such an extent that many of the by-roads have become totally unnecessary—a process that is still going on just outside the London area—nevertheless there are as a compensation, both on the North Downs, and among the sand hills to the south of them, many miles of deep hollow lanes, frequently thickly overgrown with bushes and saplings, and in places far below the neighbouring fields. I recall to mind one such, which forms part of an exceptionally delightful cross-country walk from Chiddingfold to Dunsfold. The old track is, I should say, not less than fifty feet below its overhanging banks. It is, of course, very wet, and quite impassable for many months of the year, but there is, as is usually the case, a good path inside the adjoining field, from which an exceptionally fine view of the Weald can be obtained.

Gilbert White, in the opening chapter of his *Selborne*, calls attention to the hollowing out of the soft stony surface of the lanes in his neighbourhood by the action of the weather, and the streams of water that ran down them after rain, but this process is far more noticeable on the hills to the south of the Tillingbourne Valley, the soil being so much softer and more readily acted upon by climatic influences. The lanes and footpaths round Shere, both those to the south in the direction of the Hurtwood and those running up into the hills to the north, furnish many instances of this; they are moreover of the most intricate description, and bewildering in the extreme to anyone who attempts to find his way about without very precise directions or a modern ordnance map.

One point that first attracts attention is that they run with remarkable uniformity from south to north. According to our ears the natural direction of traffic through the village would be east and west, along the level valley of the Tillingbourne, which is traversed by the succession of winding lanes that

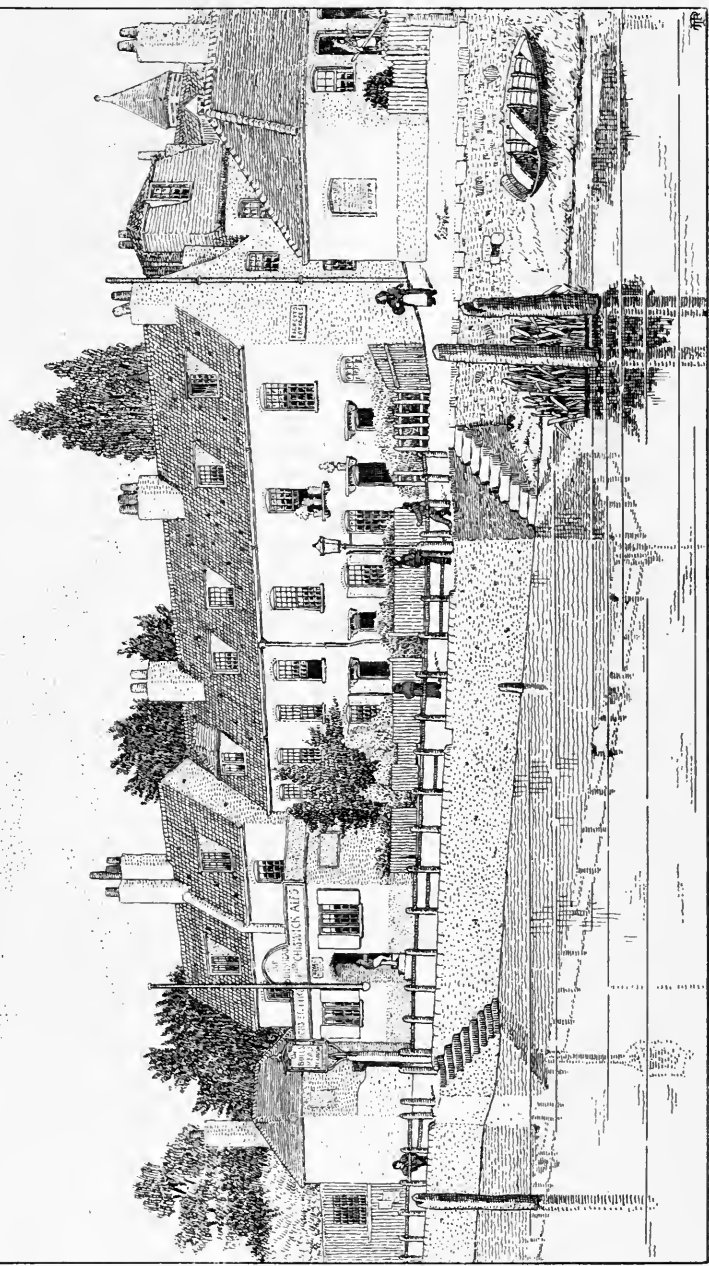
SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

does duty for a high road from Guildford to Dorking, but it is quite clear that this route is comparatively modern, and only came into being when the necessity first began to be felt for better means of communication with the neighbouring towns.

This general direction of the Shere lanes is no doubt partly due to the ancient connection of the village with Cranleigh, which resulted in a parish of unusual length as compared with its breadth; and in early times, when each hamlet formed a self-centred community, and had little or no intercourse with its neighbours, such ways as came first into being were naturally those which converged upon the buildings of the village in general, and the church in particular. This was especially true in the case of a village such as Shere, which was always of some local importance, and once even possessed a market. Moreover, in early days the Tillingbourne Valley must have been a terrible place. It is thickly wooded even now; at the time when the earliest roads took form the whole valley must have been a mass of dark woodland, no doubt very swampy in places, and the few travellers of the day, east-bound and west-bound, other than those of the pilgrims, who in course of time probably made Shere one of their halting places, would make all possible haste to regain the easier way along the hillside.

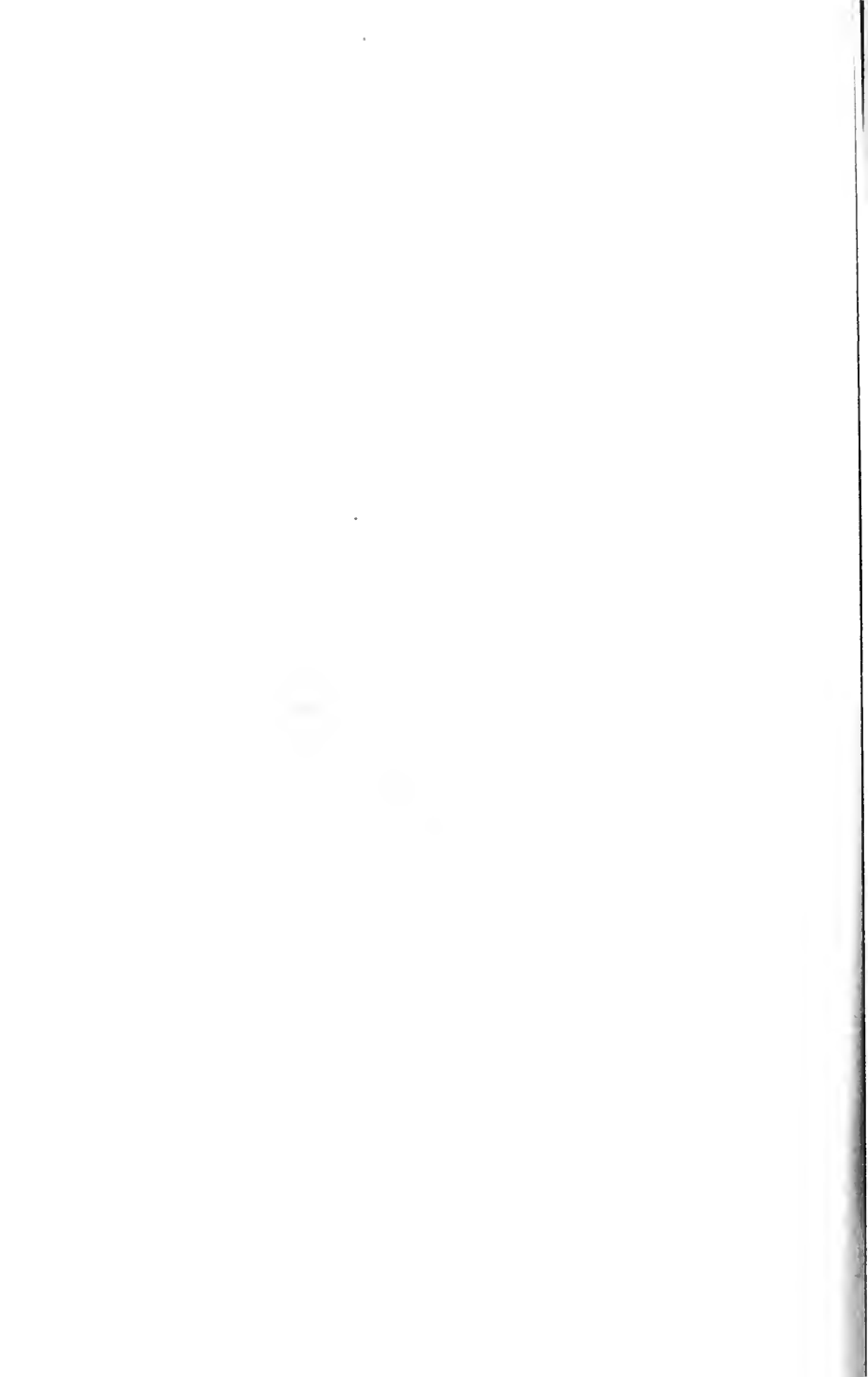
It is probable, as I said just now, that a section at any rate of the pilgrims to Canterbury would, after visiting St. Martha's, proceed to Shere Church by the nearest route, that by Weston and Silverhill Woods, but these would be only the humbler or more devoted among them, who travelled afoot either by choice or of necessity; and even these, according to the generally accepted view, took the first opportunity of climbing the hillside by one or other of the tracks which may be seen slightly further to the east.

However this may be, there is to this day a steep cart track running uphill from the centre of Shere village to the north, in direct continuation of a narrow track which comes from Cranleigh, over the sandy hills to the south. This steep lane—it is hardly even as much as that—is known significantly as "London Lane." Upon reaching the top of the hill it runs straight forward over the bracken, only a narrow footpath being apparent to the eye, but it is still passable for wheeled traffic at a pinch, and in fact a friend of mine, being pressed for time, drove across in a dogcart a few years ago without mishap. In about a mile it joins a fairly good road, and eventually reaches the Epsom and Guildford highway (at a



Strand-on-the-Green: "The Bull's Head" and the Almshouses.

Drawn by J. Tavenor-Perry.



SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

point by Horsley Towers) where the latter has obviously been diverted—of which I shall have something to say later on—and from here there is a direct route as far as the Portsmouth Road. The general continuity of this succession of tracks forces the conclusion on the mind that here we may have one of the original lines of communication between west Surrey, and the more settled parts of the county and London.

Outside the eastern boundary wall of Horsley Towers there is a narrow and not particularly attractive footway, which has now no sufficiently obvious outlet to the north, but I am told that it is known locally as the "Old London Road," and that it went by way of Kingston. Presumably it crossed the Mole at Church Cobham, and a study of the map shows by-lanes in that direction that may have been a continuation of it, but I have not been able to arrive at any definite information on the subject. Local traditions however live long, and, as this narrow track is in exact alignment with a bridle way through the woods, which diverges from the lane from Shere mentioned above, it seems not unreasonable to infer that it may have formed part of yet another packhorse track from Shere and Cranleigh in the direction of London.

To the south of Shere, and in the neighbourhood of the Hurtwood, the tracks are still more numerous, and very difficult to follow without an extensive knowledge of the country. The writer of the Surrey volume in the "Highways and Byeways" series describes the difficulty he experienced in finding his way from the windmill on Pitch Hill to Farley Heath. I think he must have followed the path I once traced out, but in the reverse direction. At any rate I passed the solitary cottage that he mentions, but I was fortunate in starting from the other end, where I had a definite datum to work from, in the shape of a curve of Bow Lane clearly shown on the Ordnance map, and I found the way without very much difficulty.

The path I followed is an instance of one that must at some time have been in fairly constant use but is now entirely abandoned. It is wide and hard under foot, but so completely overgrown with nuts and hazel that mere pushing is of no avail, one can only get through by crawling under the boughs. The great number of paths in this neighbourhood running frequently parallel with, and in close proximity to each other has been attributed to smugglers, who, it is known, found in these wilds in the eighteenth century a ready means of access

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

to their markets in the more settled parts of the country; but in all probability the truth is that in the days of packhorses, when the country was open for many miles, each man or caravan would more or less choose his own path, as circumstances or the state of the weather or his own knowledge or ignorance of the lie of the land might move him.

We are, I think, rather liable to underestimate the industrial activity that formerly characterized certain parts of Surrey, which are now emphatically rural and agricultural, but it is to this that we must attribute a very considerable proportion of the by-ways of the central parts of the county. Practically the only means of access to London and other centres was by means of packhorses, which will to some extent account for the numerous north-bound tracks. Even now one of the ways across from the Tillingbourne Valley to the Epsom and Guildford Road is known as Staple Lane, which must surely be a reminiscence of the vanished wool trade that formerly flourished at Womersley and the larger places in the neighbourhood; moreover Manning and Bray mention as a place-name "Staplelands" in proximity to this lane.

The name is now confined to a narrow track running from the top of Combe Bottom to East Clandon, but the existing roadway from Shere has every appearance of being modern, and, moreover, soon after leaving the main road from Shere to Guildford it curves very sharply to the left in the line of an old track up Juniper Hill, and then again equally sharply to the right. These bends are alone sufficient to make one suspect the existence of an older track, which will be found on passing through a gate immediately in front at the first bend. It is completely overgrown in places, and at first can only be made out with difficulty, but further on it is more open, and it will then be seen to be more than a mere footpath, and it may be followed until it rejoins the road, nearly at the top of the combe. This is, I have no doubt, the original southern end of Staple Lane, and in its former state it may have been a packhorse road from Cranleigh and the adjacent villages in the direction of Chertsey and Staines.

It may have been observed that I have had little to say in these notes about the Roman roads of which traces have been found in Surrey. My reason for this is that my aim has been to confine myself to such roads as are at present in use, or are usable, at any rate by pedestrians. Moreover the subject is one upon which little can be said with certainty, and any

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

discussion thereon must necessarily owe much to conjecture, deduction and analogy.

One frequently finds on the Ordnance maps a succession of dashes, precisely similar to those used to denote footpaths; these are to show that a Roman road may have run in that line, and I once attempted to follow up such an alleged track in Northumberland, not far from the station *Borcovicus*, and just inside the world-famous Wall. The local guide-book described it as easily to be found by means of a succession of unlocked gates, and added that a century ago it was in regular use by carriers, why it is hard to imagine, as only a few hundred yards away there is a parallel high road, also declared to be Roman (no doubt with truth), which one would imagine would have served their purpose far better. I found the gates, which were I may say locked, and also found beneath grass four feet high a collection of boulders of concrete or some similarly unsympathetic substance, rough edged and very painful to the feet, and I was only too glad to make the best of my way back to the high road.

No doubt to an enthusiastic archaeologist the scramble would have been full of delight, but an ordinary pedestrian could derive no possible gratification therefrom.

There is, however, in Surrey one Roman road, which cannot be ignored, and which is full of interest as a link with the past, seeing that in parts it is still in use for a considerable distance in the southern part of the country, although certain portions have utterly vanished. This is still known at Ockley as Stane or Stone Street, and is alliteratively described by Aubrey as running from Billingshurst to Billingsgate. Many miles of it are in use in Sussex as a main road, but the only part that has survived as a highway in Surrey is the section at Ockley mentioned above. Aubrey says that it was very wet in winter near Ockley, which may perhaps account for its abandonment, but, however that may be, for a very long space of time the through route (as far as one could be said to exist) from Arundel in the direction of London lay over the slope of Leith Hill to the west of Anstiebury Camp, and along what is now called Coldharbour Lane, to Dorking, affording yet another instance of traffic seeking high ground overlooking the surrounding country. For it must be remembered that these hills were not always clothed with woods as they are at present. Anstiebury was only planted in 1785, and at the present time copses of larch and other trees in

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

various stages of growth may be seen on the northern slopes of Leith Hill, planted in many instances in the hope of deriving some return from otherwise profitless ground.

Coldharbour Lane seems to have fallen into an unaccountable state of neglect, as we learn that by the middle of the eighteenth century it could only be traversed on horseback, and, as the result of a petition to Parliament, the present high road from Horsham to Dorking was eventually constructed. I have a private theory of my own that Coldharbour Lane—as it is now—above Boar Hill, is the successor of a still older road, the bridle way that runs parallel with it inside Redlands Wood, the upper entrance of which is exactly in alignment with the lane as it turns after leaving Coldharbour village; it is difficult otherwise to account for the existence of this right of way, for which no object is apparent, and which appears to be known to very few even of those living in the district. It ends after an exceedingly sharp descent (which would appear to be quite sufficient to account for its abandonment) at a spot in Coldharbour Lane known ominously as the “Robbing Gate” at the top of Boar Hill. It is curious to note that in the folio edition of Ogilby's *Britannia*, dated 1698, Coldharbour Lane appears as part of a main route from London to Arundel, and is considered worthy of inclusion amongst the extremely limited number of main roads in that work. It might thus almost be regarded as a third really ancient main route to be added to the two I mentioned at the beginning of these notes, but contemporary accounts of its normal condition seem to forbid the conclusion that it could have been used even for the primitive stage vehicles then in use, and we know that half a century later, as mentioned above, its state was such that it was considered too bad even for that day, and the present fine road over the Holmwood was made.

It is interesting to note that in the work entitled *Britannia Depicta* or *Ogilby Improved*, issued about 1736, which furnishes a crude series of maps of the counties of England, the roads noted in Surrey (omitting the Dover and Exeter roads) are only five in number, the old Lewes Road, the Portsmouth Road, the one just mentioned to Arundel, the branch road from Godalming through Chiddingfold to Petworth, and the cross road from Staines to Farnham, which leaves the great western highway to Salisbury and Exeter on Bagshot Heath, and runs for some few miles within the western border of the county.

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

Another of the old tracks which tradition declared to have once been a high road is to be found on the northern slope of Leith Hill. It runs from Coldharbour to Wotton, above the Broadmoor Valley, and is known as Wolvens Lane—a reminiscence of times when country walks must have been attended by more than a spice of danger—and is I suppose as wild and secluded a by-way as could be found even in this thinly inhabited area; but it is a little difficult to believe that two such insignificant hamlets could ever have required a "high road" to connect them.

High up on Mickleham Downs, overlooking the valley of the Mole, there is a broad green track, carried in some places on an embankment, and in others cutting through the hill-side. This is now known as "Shepherd's Walk," but it bears evident traces of Roman engineering, and is marked on the Ordnance map as Ermyn Street. It seems almost certain, however, that it was a continuation of Stane Street, but experts differ, as experts will, as to whether it dropped down to Ewell, and then followed the line of the present high road through Morden to London, which runs in an absolutely straight line for several miles, or whether it bore to the right towards one of the Roman settlements, which are said to have been located at various spots on the North Downs. It is well worth exploring if only for the delightful quietude of the surroundings, and the fine views it affords of the well-wooded country on either side.

I have intentionally left to the last the best of all the old Surrey roads, the primeval track, compared with which the oldest of the main highways now existing in the county is as but a creation of yesterday. Long before the Romans came and taught the primitive natives to make roads, this old hill track was in regular use, carrying merchants and their wares through Kent and Surrey from the narrow seas far toward the west.

One can realize with what feelings of relief and joy those early travellers who had boldly ventured across from the shores of Gaul, urged by the desire of lucrative trading with the men of the south-west, must have come upon this open hill-track, which would appear to have been, as it were, made for them, running as it does along the open hillside, as a rule just below the summit, and so protected from the northerly winds, and, on the other hand, lifted safely above the dangers and terrors, known and imagined, of the wild and densely

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

wooded Weald. They would see it pointing directly towards the setting sun, the point at which they aimed, and at each of the spots where a considerable stream had to be crossed, that is at Aylesford, Otford, Burford, and Guildford, they would find a means of crossing that would ensure them a safe and easy passage.

One cannot discuss this time-honoured highway without again referring to Mr. Belloc's book on the subject, which brings so vividly before the eyes the conditions of the long distant past, when this was the main route—if not the only one—running east and west through the southern counties, and when in due course of time it came to be thronged by all manner of men and their merchandise.

Its story is inextricably interwoven with that of the Canterbury pilgrimages, and much has been written and said as to how far, if at all, the pilgrims used the old road in their journeyings. The natural inference is that at first, at all events, they followed the well-known route, which was indeed, as far as our knowledge goes, the only one open to them, and, although in course of time the humbler and more devout amongst them may have laboriously made a foot track for themselves through the low-lying woodlands from church to church, and from shrine to shrine, the probability is that all those who merely followed the fashion of the day, all those who travelled for business or pleasure, and every one who had a horse to ride would keep to the dry and open hillside track, in preference to the miry and devious ways of the lower ground.

The pilgrimages are, however, but an episode in the history of this old road, and the four hundred years during which they took place are a mere trifle as compared with the two thousand or more during which it has been in existence. It was a well-used highway, probably, as I have said, the best used in what are now the southern counties, a thousand years before Becket was slain at Canterbury; and when pilgrimages ceased under the stern rule of the Tudors, the road remained, as it still remains usable, not merely as a footway, a mere relic of past greatness, but without obstruction and available as a cart road throughout practically its whole length. In fact it is probably very little if at all inferior to the majority of English roads prior to the coaching era. One important use to which it has been put may be gathered from the name by which it is known locally, and by which it is denoted on

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

the six-inch Ordnance maps, viz., the Drove Road. In later times, ways of this description must have been of incalculable benefit to humble dwellers in rural parts, when every road of the slightest importance was subject to toll, although it may be noted that neither Paterson nor Cary mention any toll gates whatever on the direct road under the hills between Maidstone and Winchester.

Many portions of the old road are in constant use to-day as driving roads, notably a long section from beyond the Kentish border as far as Godstone Quarry, a considerable stretch over Ranmore Common above Dorking, and the Guildford and Farnham Road along the "Hog's Back;" and moreover throughout its length it affords to those who are satisfied with the means of progression that nature provides a series of walks without a parallel throughout the southern counties. The outlook over the Weald from almost any point is of remarkable beauty, and, for scenes of progressive loveliness, culminating in the view from Newlands Corner, the twelve miles from Dorking to Guildford are absolutely matchless. The solitude of this portion of the road is quite remarkable; it is seldom that one meets more than half a dozen people, with the possible exception of a body of gipsies, who are sometimes troublesome, and whose neighbourhood is at all times to be avoided.

Beyond Guildford there is an interesting section of road that was abandoned when the new highway to Farnham, slightly to the north of it, was constructed, with a view to avoiding the extremely steep ascent from Guildford Bridge, which is expressively known as the "Mount." This grass-grown track, which has been abandoned since 1758, is a weird place on a dark night, and not to be recommended for a solitary stroll to those with a vivid imagination. The bushes in the hedges assume the most extraordinary shapes, and the solitude makes itself felt to a most surprising degree. A ghost of an early stage waggon would hardly seem out of place, and one reaches the cemetery near the town with feelings of absolute relief.

A love of travelling at a high rate of speed is, and has, I think, long been a characteristic of the English race, and one that differentiates it in a marked degree from the Latin nations. We have during the last few years experienced this phase in an aggravated form as a result of the rapid development of motor traffic on common roads. This same instinct,

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

as one may fairly call it, reached an earlier culminating point at the close of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, and until coaching was killed by the railways, there was an absolute mania, assisted to no small degree by competition between those who embarked upon the carrying trade, for travelling by road at the highest possible rate of speed.

The development of the nation's roads that ensued was not confined to the great trunk routes: we read that during the fifty years between 1761 and 1810 no less than sixteen hundred Turnpike Acts were passed, and, although no doubt many of these were not put into effect (just as many Railway Acts were and are passed, and then are heard of no more), many hundreds of miles of cross-country connections were either constructed or re-constructed to meet the growing needs of the time, resulting in the abandonment either wholly or in part of the older lines of communication.

To any one who knows Surrey well many other instances will occur of such roads which have been wholly or in part abandoned; for example, the succession of lanes that were superseded by the present high road from Epsom to Guildford, constructed under Acts of 1755-8, many traces of which exist both east and west of Leatherhead. The most casual wayfarer can hardly fail to notice that in the latter direction the villages all lie off the road, and if he begins to explore them he will find that as far as Effingham the older lane to the north of the present highway is still intact, and that it still carries the bulk of the local traffic.

An abandoned continuation beyond Effingham terminates abruptly at the boundary of the Horsley Towers estate, which fact, coupled with the exceedingly sharp corners a mile further on, by the "Duke of Wellington" at East Horsley, forces one to conclude that the older road was swallowed up when the Horsley estate was formed, but I have not been able to ascertain anything definite as to this.

Again, a few miles further on by East Clandon there are evident traces of diversions having taken place, and to the south of the main road there is a melancholy loop of deserted track that must have formed part of some predecessor to the present road.

To attempt anything like a detailed survey of the roads of the county is of course quite out of the question in an article of this length, and my main object in putting together these somewhat disconnected notes has been the hope that someone

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

possessed of the necessary leisure, knowledge and antiquarian instinct may be tempted to deal with this fascinating subject as it deserves.

The literature on the subject is meagre in the extreme. In the appendix to Manning and Bray, the Roman roads are dealt with at some length, and then follows a catalogue of the new turnpikes recently completed or authorized in Surrey, but of the great middle period, when the road system of the county was in the making, scarcely anything appears to have been written.

It is greatly to be lamented that the science of cartography developed so late—a comparative series of county maps, showing something more than scattered collections of crudely indicated and conventional gables, varied by an occasional church steeple, would have been most instructive as to the distribution of population, and the means of communication from age to age; but such maps as were produced before the middle of the eighteenth century were, as a rule of the most rudimentary description.

A contributor to one of the early volumes of the Surrey Archæological Collections wrote as follows:

“The general subject of roads is one well worthy the study of all those who seek to trace back effects to their causes, they being among the most important means by which the civilization of mankind has been effected.”

Mr. Belloc more picturesquely says:

“Of primary things that move us, the least obvious but most important is the road. The greatest and most original of the spells which we inherit from the earliest pioneers of our race. It was the most imperative and the first of our necessities.”

This view of the matter has not received the attention it deserves. The history of the roads of any given district is to no inconsiderable extent the history of the people of that district, and in the case of a county such as Surrey, which has had singularly little part in the great events of our national history, if we know under what circumstances its roads came into being, what were the successive developments of the system, why this road was made and why that one was abandoned, we are not far from a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the history of the county in general; and it is open to

SOME OLD SURREY ROADS.

question whether the subject may not be as interesting and profitable as discussions on Roman pottery and pre-Roman flints, and treatises thereon. The matter is well worth consideration.

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE, Part IV.

BY HENRY R. PLOMER.

[Continued from vol. xii, p. 280.]

WAYFARERS climbing Ludgate Hill, in the days of Elizabeth found a welcome resting place provided for them by the city authorities, in the form of a bench placed outside the church of St. Martin's. This bench was fixed between the great and little doors which gave entrance to the church from Bowyer Row, as the upper end of Ludgate Hill was then called. It also appears to have extended round the western side of the church for some distance. That part of it which stood between the two doors occupied a space of eighteen feet by three. Nothing can better illustrate the growing value of land within the walls of the city than the story which is told in the following documents of how the tired wayfarer was deprived of his resting place by the covetous citizens who wished to secure the strip of land, eighteen feet by three to put up a shop.

Thomas Severne, the first applicant, was a parishioner of St. Martin's, and, as will be seen from the following minute of the Common Council, he suffered the usual fate of pioneers.

*Jovis, secundo die Marcii, Anno xxxiiiij domine nostre
Elizabethe Regine, etc. 1591, [1591-2].*

Webb, } Dyxie, Barne, Martin, Harte, Buckell, Masham,
Maior. } Slanye, Billingsley, Ratclyff, Elkin, Skinner, Cather,
Saltonstall, Soane, Mowsley, Broke, ac Ryder et Barneham,
vicecomites, etc.

Item where Thomas Severne, haberdasher, was a sutor to this Court for a lease to be graunted to him of the Citee's piece of void ground, where the seate is lately erected adjoyninge to the parishe church of St. Martyn, Bowyer Row, within Ludgate; Yt was this daye ordered that the same sute should be determyned in this Courte by scrutany. And theruppon the Courte proceeding to the same scrutany, yt was founde that it



St. Martin's Church, Ludgate.



THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

was not fitt nor convenient the same sute should be graunted, or that the same peece of grounde shoulde be lett by lease. Wherappon yt is this day ordered, decreed and fullie resolved by this Courte, aswell for the causes aforesaide as for divers other causes the same Courte especially movinge, that the same peece of ground shall not at any tyme hereafter be let by lease, nor converted into Shoppes, but shall forever remayne and contynewe a seate and benche for the ease of the parishioners there, and other her Majesties subjectes. [fol. 86 d.]

This praiseworthy attitude of the City Authorities did not last long, and where Thomas Severne failed, Thomas Person or Peirson was more successful a few years later. But it will be noticed that he first of all enlisted the help of the Vestry, and prevailed upon that body to make the application.

Januarie, the xxxjth 1596 [1596-7].

Item yt is agreed by a Veristry houlden by Thomas Cooke and Thomas Person, Church wardens the last daye of Januarie, 1596, [1596-7] that if the said Churchwardens and parishioners doe obtayne and get the newe longe benche one the Syouth syde and West end of St. Martin's Church, neare Ludgat, ethiere by leasse or fee farme of the Chambre of London, at the sut of Thomas Person or otherwise, yt was then and theire ordred by the said Churchwardens and persons there assembled, whose names are here written, that the above named Thomas Person shall have a lease of the said benche for xxj yeares at a reasonable rent, to convert in to a shope at his owne cost and charges. Ordred and decrid the yeare above writen, the 39 yeare of our soveraigne Ladie the Queene.

Thomas Cooke	} Church Wardens.
Thomas Person	

Jhon Hartford, Richard Arnoyld, Florence Cawdwell, Roger Smyth, John Lyche, Nicholas Crosse, Robarte Gomershall, Robarte Pavy, Edward Undrehill, William Smythe, Jhon Gravete, William Frythe. [fol. 88.]

The following document, though out of its chronological order, should be read next, as showing that the application of St. Martin's Vestry proved successful and the terms upon which it obtained the land upon which the seat stood. It will be noticed that nothing is said as to the use to which it was to be put.

Whereas the Maior and Comynalty and Citizens of the City of London, by their Indenture of Lease under their Common Seale, bearinge date the xvijth daie of September,

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

1598, And in the fortieth yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, etc., did devise, graunt and to fearme lett unto Florence Caldwell, Richard Arnold, Thomas Cooke, Nicholas Crosse, Edward Underhill and Robert Pavy, haberdashers, Citizens of London and parishioners of St. Martin at Ludgate, All that parcell of ground lieinge alonge parte of the Southe side of the Church of S^t Martyn, Bowyer Rowe, in London, that is to saie, betwixt the greater doore leadinge out of the streete within Ludgate into the same Church and the smaller dore there leadinge also into the same Church, conteyninge in lengthe from East to West eightene foote, be yt more or lesse, and in breadth from the Church Wall into the Streete Southwardethree foote, For the terme of forty yeares, comensing from the feast of S^t Michael Tharchangell next cominge after the date of the same Indenture of Lease, and for the yearlie rent of Five Shillings of lawfull money of England, as by the same Indenture of Lease more plainly may appeare; All whiche said persons were putt in truste as Feoffees by the rest of the parishioners of the said parishe of Saint Martyn, to take the said lease in their names, to the generall use of the parishioners of the same parish. It is therefore this xxviiijth of September, 1600, ordered, agreed and consented unto by a full Vestrie, holden by William Frith and Roberte Gomersall, Churchwardens, that although the said lease be graunted in the names of the said Feoffees, yet it is the very true meaninge and entent of all the said Feoffees and every of them that the said Lease, and all the benefitt and Comoditie theruppon cominge, arrisinge and growinge at all tymes hereafter, shalbe and shalbe adjudged, entended and meant to be to the use and behoofe of all the parishioners of the said parishe nowe beinge, and to their successors, parishioners of the said parishe, duringe the saide terme of forty years in the said lease graunted, and to noe other use, entent or purpose, the said lease or any other matter or thinge to the contrary notwithstanding. For the testimony of the truthe hereof aswell wee the Feoffees, as also the Parishioners, have sett to our handes, the daie and yeare above written. [fol. 91 d.]

As the names are not given, this was evidently only a transcript of the original document. The vestry however did not wait for this general ratification of the agreement. On the first of October, 1598, they passed a resolution that "Thomas Peirson, merchaunt tailor, an auncient dweller in the same parishe," should be granted a lease of this strip of ground, three feet by eighteen, for twenty-one years at a yearly rental of 40s., so the parish were not doing badly on the transaction.



St. Martin's Church, Ludgate.

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

Finally we have this minute entered.

Att a Vestrye holden on Wensday, the xxith of Marche, 1598 [1598-9], by Nicholas Crosse and William Frithe, Churchwardens, for lettinge the Lease of the shoppe at the Church doore to Thomas Person; at whiche tyme there mett in the vestrye thenumber of forty Parishioners, whereof thirty-eighte of them gave their consentes under their handes that the said Thomas Person should have a lease of the said shopp for one and twenty yeres, to lett and sett at forty shillinges a yere rent, Soe that whosoever it was let unto by the said Thomas Person or his assigns should first enter into bond to the Churchwardens, to the use of the same parishe, not to annoy or hinder the Devine Service, nor to be noysome or troublesome to the parishioners, and to doo his best endeavor to keepe the Church in safety and from annoyaunces.

Also Mr. Crowe, the parson, being there present, gave his consent and allowance for fixinge the same shoppe to the Church Wall. [fols. 89 d., 90 d.]

In this way the bench, which a few years before the Common Council had decreed should "forever remayne," was done away with, and the tired pedestrian was robbed of his resting place.

Passing now to other matters, it may be of interest to record the rules that governed the Vestry meetings at this time. In 1592, during the term of office of John Leach and Christopher Hollingshed, the following articles were drawn up and entered in this book, in a clear and scholarly hand:

Imprimis: That every Vestrey man shall observe and keepe all orders agreed upon by the same Vestrey, or elles to be excluded from the same plase and another chosen in his plase.

Item: That every Vestery man shall come to the Vestery, being lawfully warned, not having resonable excuse for his absence by the same Vestery to be alowed of or most voyces.

Item: That every Vestery man at ther meetinges in the same Vestery shall behave themselves reverently and decently one towards an other, in speches and otherwayes.

Item: That every Vestery man shall beare or compound for all suche offices as he or they have bine or shalbe chosen unto within the same parrish, without resistance, or els excluded.

Item: That every Vestery man shall paye all manner of seasementes, paymentes and deuties, with which in the same parishe they have bine or shalbe aseased unto by the Seassors of the same parish, elected and chosen for the same purpose.

Item: That yf aney Vestery man be to be new chosen to

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

supply the plases wanting, yf the want be within the Gate or without, ther shalbe 3 or 4 put in election by the whole Vestery of both sides of the most fittest men on that side where the want is, and then the choyse to be made out of them by the most voyces of that side onely that wanteth.

Item: That ther shalbe no Vestery holden under the number of xvj Vestery men at the least, being lawfully warned.

Item: That these articles were agreed upon by a lawfull Vestery and lawfully warned, being the number of 25 Vestery men.

Absent onely from this Vestery, Mr. Antrobus, Mr. Bullocke, Mr. Broughe, Mr. Blande, Mr. Gomersall. [fol. 84 d., 85.]

Some idea of the variety of matters dealt with at the Vestry meetings may be gathered from the following entries:

Item: It was agreed that the Sexton should have for every tyme that he tolleth the bell iiij*℥*. . . . and lykewise for the pawllcloth for every tyme that it goithe iiij*℥*. [fol. 84.]

. . . That the Clarke should have the commoditys of the bells as he hath had hertofore, And the Church Wardens to fynd all the bell ropes . . . furthermore it was agreed that the Sexton shall have for coverynge of every grave viij*℥*., and vj*℥*. every quarter for browmes . . . [fol. 84.]

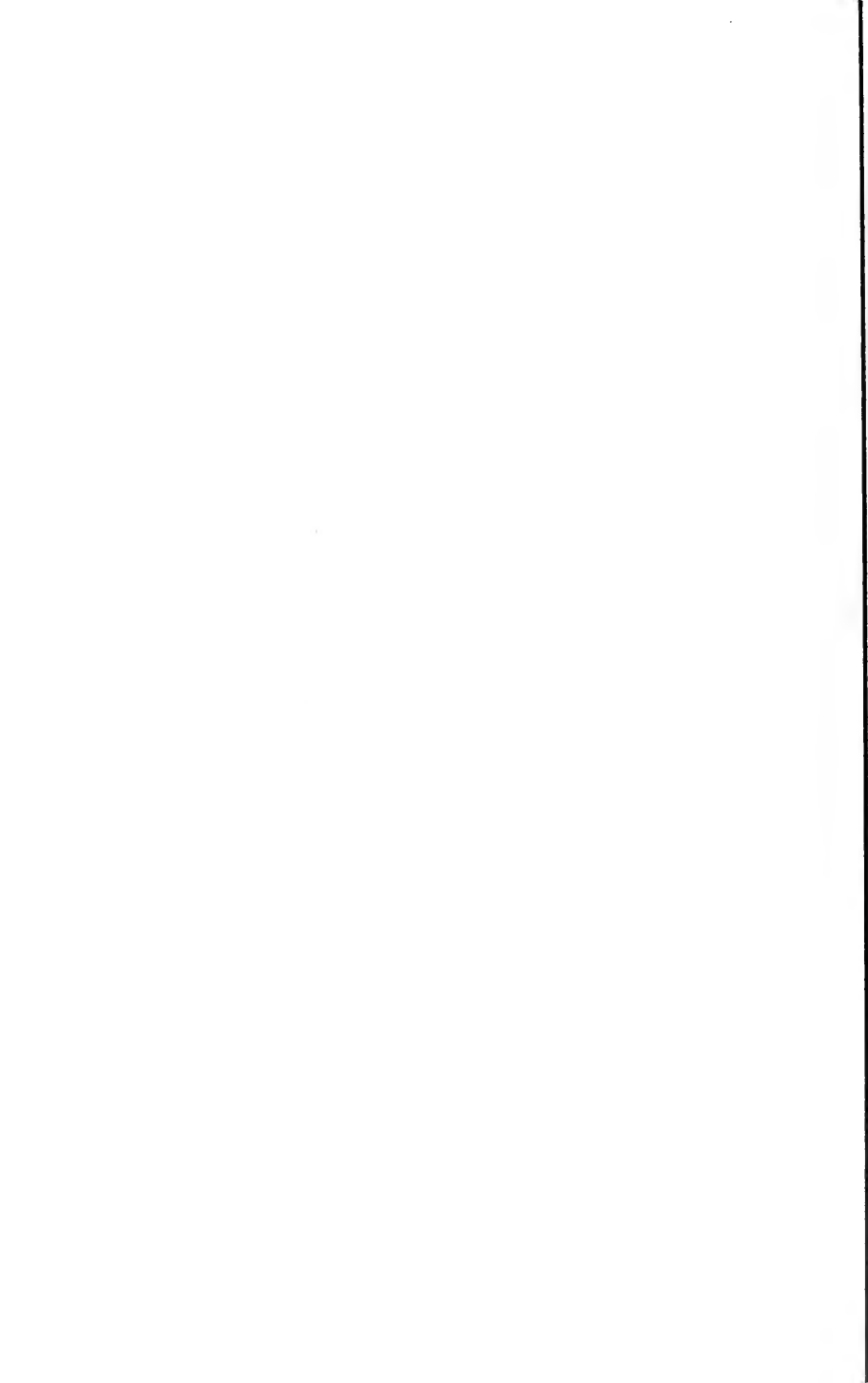
At a Vestrey houlden the 20th of Janewary, Anno 1593, hit was ordered and fully agreyed that every stranger or forrener not being a parrisshioner that shalbe buried in oure Church shall paye in all dewtyes dubble so muche as a parissshener. [fol. 86.]

That from henceforth all suche letters Pattents as shall happen to come to our Church under the Great Seale of England, or other letters Pattentes under anie other seale, the Church wardens for the tyme beyng shall cause them to be published and redd in our said Church. And for the avadinge of troble, aswell to the parissshioners as to the preacher, which may happen by reason of suche collections in tyme of Devyne Seryyce, the Churchwardens shall geve to everyone that shall come with the Greate Seale of England, ijs. iiij*℥*., and to everie one that commeth with letters pattentes under the seale of the Admiralty xx*℥*., And the like to them that shall come with the Bishopp's licence. [fol. 88 d.]

At a Vestry holden the laste daye of Februarie, 1600, [1600-1], by Robert Pavie and Edward Underhill, Churchwardens. It was fullye agreed that for the collection for the Queen's Brode Seale for the burninge of anye towne, shoulde be collected by the Churchwardens or officers of the parishe of every inhabitante; and for other licences, to be given oute of the



St. Martin's Church, Ludgate.



THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

Church stocke, by the discreation of the Churchwardens for the tyme beinge.

It was also agreed that all the pewes, as well for men as weomen, shulde be marked with syphers, that hereafter they might be the better knowne and how manye for every pewe, and [there] was apoynted to joyne with the Churchwardens for that purpose, John Hartford, Jeames Willmore, Thomas Cooke, William Frithe. [fol. 94.]

On the perambulacion day there should be spent out of the Church stock xxs., and every Vesterye man to spend xij^d., being invited or warning left att his howse, all to be spent for a neighbourly meetinge and honest recreation, for amytie and love of neighboures. And if the Churchwardens shall laye oute or dispend more then this lowaunce, the overplus to be of the Churchwardens' owne charges. Yff there be lesse spent, soe much as wanteth to be putt in accompt to the poore stocke, and aunswerable in the next accompt to the Churchwardens that succede them. And every Vestrye man that shall refuse to pay his xij^d., whether he come or not, to be dismissed for being a Vestrye man, and another chosen in his place where the want is. [fol. 94 d.]

At a full Vestry houlden one Tuesday, being the xxijth December, 1601, by Edward Underhill and William Ensor, Churchwardens, it was agreed that Robert Mote should bee paid by the Churchwardens viij^{li}. js. viij^d., and to take a bonde of hime to performe suche Covinantes as are agreed uppone in the bonde to the use of the parishe;¹ and further it was agreed one the same day that theire shoulde bee a petition maid to the Masters of the Hospitall to procure warrant for the getting in Hennrey Pounds's childe, which is at nurses, and futher that the Church Wardens shoulde bestowe some clothes uppou yt. [fol. 95.]

That a whipping post shalbe set up at the Conduit in the Old Bayly, and that it shalbe aswell to the use within the Gate as without the Gate. [fol. 100 d.]

¹ Robert Mote was a bell-founder, whose services had been requisitioned to recast one of the bells.

GRAVESEND AND ITS SURROUNDINGS AT THE COMING OF THE ROMANS, AND DURING THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

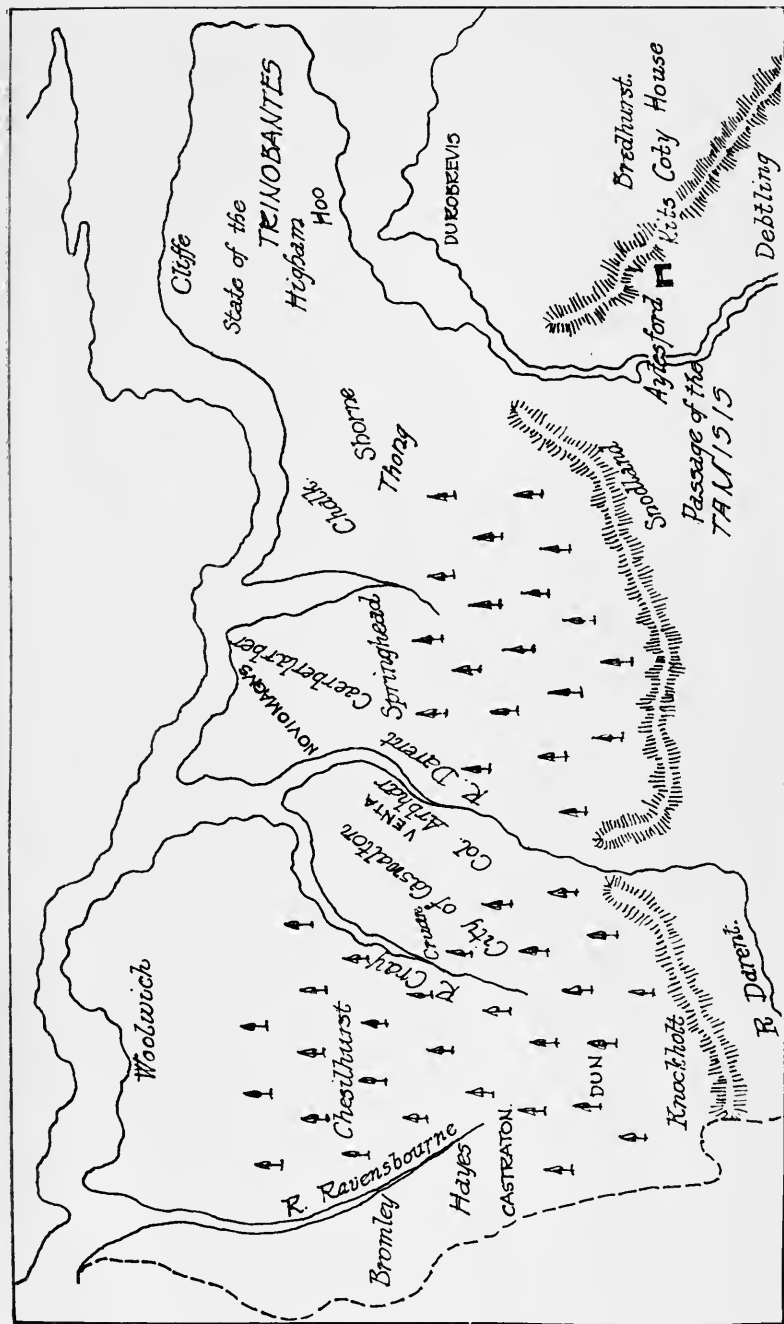
BY ALEX. J. PHILIP.

IN the preceding account of a prehistoric settlement I sketched briefly the appearance of Gravesend at a period antecedent to any of the unmistakable data that usually go to the making of recorded history, such as coins and medals and references in the written records of more advanced peoples. To some extent, but not to so great an extent as is usually supposed, this is speculative; I purposely refrained from burdening the narrative with erudite details of etymology, in the study of which there is room and opportunity for numberless errors and pitfalls. In process of time the aboriginal inhabitants, who were in communication with other parts of the world, by their intercourse with other peoples became comparatively civilized.

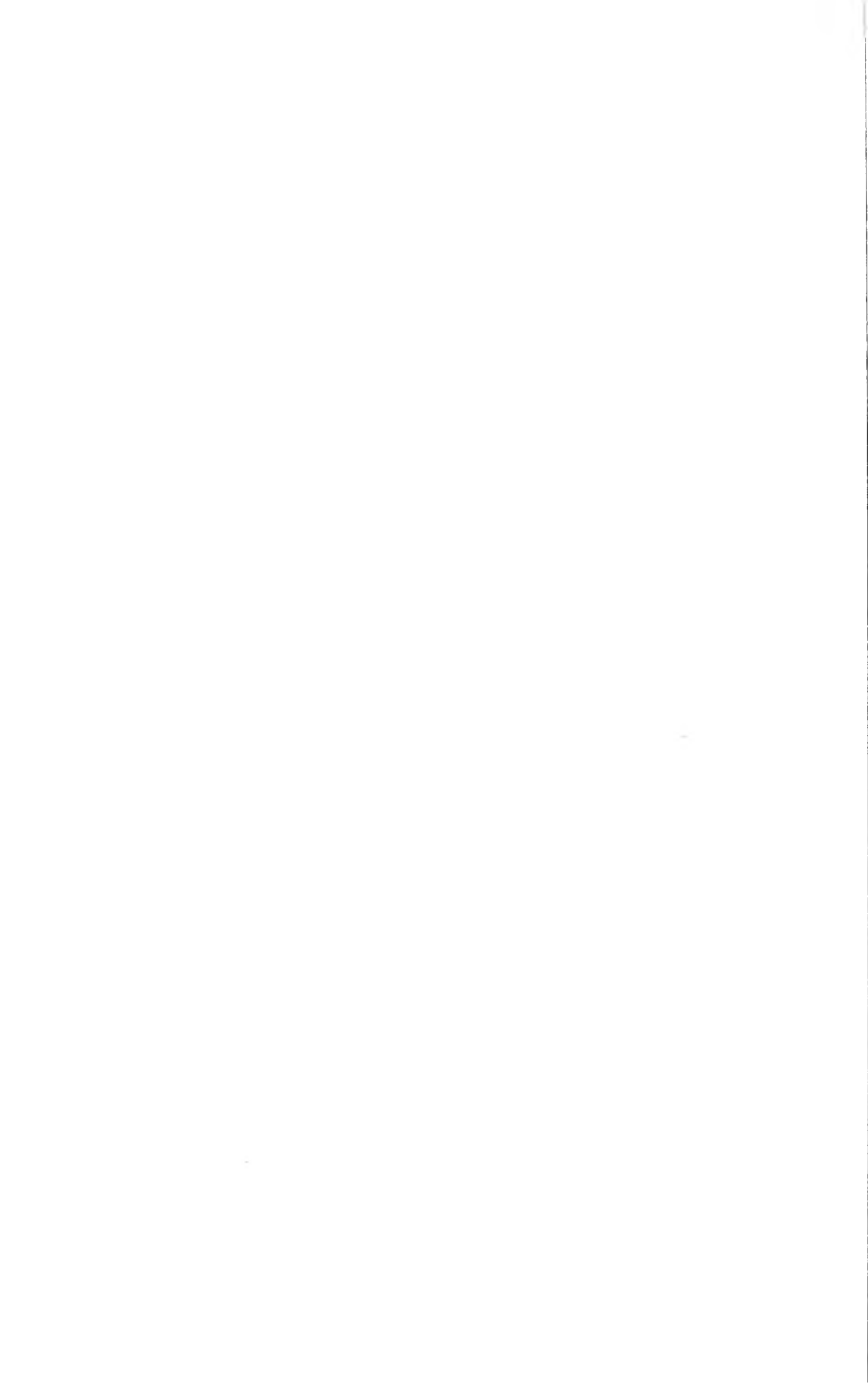
There is little doubt that before the time of the first Roman attack in A.D. 54, the Britons of Kent were possessed of a metal coin currency. It may be accepted without doubt that a people with faculties sufficiently acquisitive to enable them to copy a coinage system for their own use, was far advanced in other directions. However, it is with the district round about Gravesend, and not with the larger subject of the history of Kent that I am concerned; nevertheless, it is not only permissible, but advisable, to treat the district lying within the confines of a semicircle drawn from Higham on the east, through Cobham and Singlewell to Greenhithe on the west, as supplying material for this history.

Gold and other coins of British minting have been found in the district; British towns have been traced at Swanscombe, Cobham, and Ightham; while the great British road which preceded the later Roman Watling Street, ran some distance to the south of the site of the present Gravesend.

The late Mr. A. J. Dunkin had no doubt that on the eastern bank of the Ebbsfleet (then a navigable river, but now a streamlet running from Springhead Gardens), was situated a large town, with shipbuilding and dockyards of the first importance. "The majority of the vessels built in the river



Section of Dunkin's Map of Kent in the Romano-British Period.



ROMAN GRAVESEND.

Ebbfleet were of great bulk. The prows and sterns being raised high above the spray of the sea, were utterly impenetrable by the brazen beaks or *rostra* of the Roman craft—and like those of the Veneti, were almost entirely constructed of oak, the produce of the forest, now indiscriminately termed Swanscombe, or Stone Park Wood, which descended to the verge of the estuary. Formed in the strongest manner and of the most efficient materials, these ships were admirably adapted for distant voyages, or encountering the stormy seas which washed the British shores.”

In both 54 B.C. and 53 B.C. Julius Cæsar failed to make any great impression on the Britons. In the second invasion he passed near Gravesend and fought a battle in the vicinity, camping afterwards at Swanscombe on the way to Dartford, where there is believed to have been an extensive city. A number of weapons, pieces of armour, and human bones were discovered at Thong. This find appears to be the same as that described by the late Mr. Dunkin and the late Mr. Arnold, but their accounts are without the details necessary to identify either the exact site or the “find.” But the name Battle Street at Cobham, close by Thong, adds considerable strength to the belief that this was the scene of a sanguinary struggle between the Romans and the Britons on one of these early campaigns of the invaders. It is unfortunate that this discovery was not better described and attested at the time it was made, as it might have thrown considerable light on the invasion of this part of Kent by Cæsar or his successors.

Cæsar’s account of his own campaigns cannot be relied upon in all details. His statement that the Britons were barbarians has been assailed most violently by Mr. Dunkin; and while it cannot be disputed that the term was applied to anyone who did not enjoy the honour of Roman citizenship, Cæsar’s description of the chariots, the agricultural and other skilled work of the inhabitants of Kent, may be accepted as evidence of the high state of civilization they had attained. The accompanying illustration of weights believed to have been used in fishing with nets and dug up in Gravesend may be taken to substantiate the claim made on behalf of the Britons, that they were equally skilled in fishing.

The lack of written history between the invasions of Cæsar and that of Aulus Plautius is disconcerting, but it illustrates the precarious nature of the evidence on which some of the *minutiæ* of history have been founded.

ROMAN GRAVESEND.

British Gravesend may be described, at the time of the coming of the Romans, as a populous centre of the surrounding country, with few inhabitants on Windmill Hill, judging from the comparatively small number of British relics found there; the rising land was possibly given over to some other than a residential object.

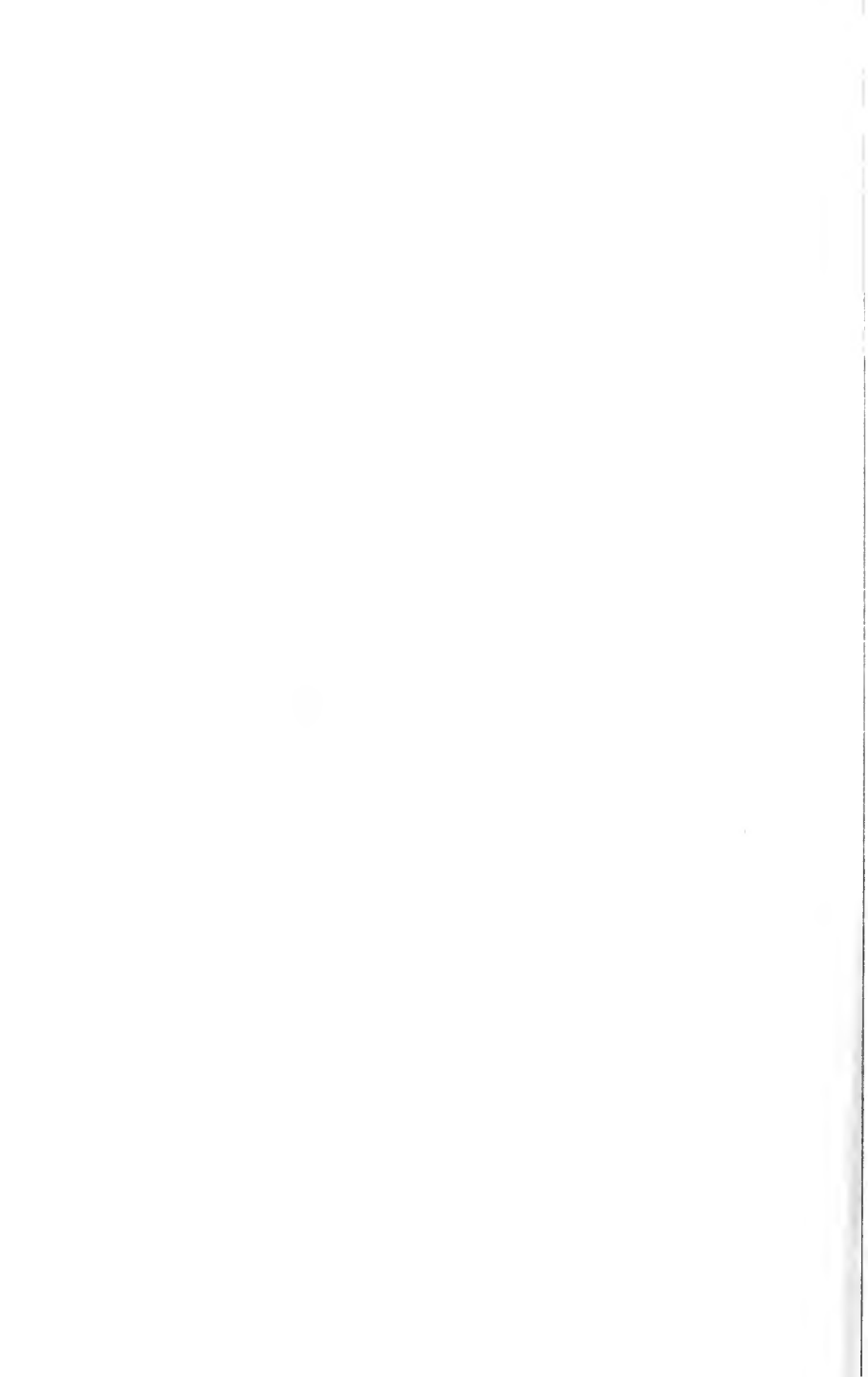
In this scene of prosperity, but not of peace—if the chariots and war weapons and military prowess of the Britons is accepted as proof—came the Romans of Aulus Plautius. The statement that he fought a battle in Swanscombe Woods is upheld by Dunkin, who has drawn what is perhaps the most vivid picture of British Gravesend possible. From that time the Gravesend district was completely Romanized. Higham, Shorne, Springhead, Southfleet, Ebbsfleet, and Tilbury may well be regarded as part of an enormous centre of activity. The bank of the river from Tilbury to East Tilbury was wholly given up to trade and commerce with other nations. Springhead was the famous station, *Vagniacæ*, on the great highway laid down for military purposes from London to the coast, namely, Watling Street, which ran largely along the line of the earlier British road—Sarn Gwyddelin. Northfleet or Ebbsfleet was taken over as a shipbuilding yard. At Shorne, about the same distance to the east of Gravesend, a Roman cemetery has been found, in addition to a smaller one at Tilbury. Higham was the site of a great Roman pottery factory. But in all this there is little mention of Gravesend. Why the Romans avoided making use of the eminence I cannot say, but the fact remains that so far as the hill is concerned the finds are strikingly and disappointingly few.

The different discoveries on which this description of the Gravesend district is based are exceedingly interesting.

A great many of the generally accepted ideas regarding the inhabitants of this part of the country and Cæsar's invasion of it have been disproved and discarded. The Britons at this time were not a race of ignorant savages, of wild men of the woods, inhabiting, so far as that term could be applied to an existence such as that usually described, forests and marshes, with lairs like beasts of the field and the chase. They were not a race of weaklings, but men of gigantic stature, renowned for their military prowess, who had led the attacks on Rome itself, their ancestors taking part in the sack of the city. Their country was one of the most important as regards commercial value, exporting the greater part of the tin of the world, and



Part of the Teanby and other Collections of Pottery from Hingham, Shorne, etc.
Reproduced by permission from *Gravenend in the Very Time of Old*, by the late G. M. Arnold.



ROMAN GRAVESEND.

a considerable amount of other merchandise, even, as I pointed out previously, as it had done for more than a thousand years. The mystery that Cæsar found attaching to it was not due to the ignorance of its inhabitants or the density of the country, but was the result of a commercial jealousy of the traders who carried on an extensive but exclusive monopoly of business with the Britons.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that Cæsar, when he had succeeded in subduing the Gauls and other tribes lying between Italy and Britain, should turn his attention to the war-like islanders who had caused him more trouble than any of the Continental peoples. In fact, by their campaigns in Europe they had invited his attack; and if the story of Avarwy's treachery, in deserting to the Romans on Cæsar's second landing, is accepted, the Roman general might well have been repulsed a second time from the British shores.

It is impossible to say when first Roman relics were found and treasured in the district, because, so far as can be traced, they have been found ever since the Romans "officially" left the country. I say "officially" because (with the exactitude of which I have previously complained) it is usually stated that the Romans relinquished the country in the year 410 A.D., without any regard being paid to the fact that after four hundred years of the closest connection it was impossible to eradicate the Romans, their influences or their institutions. While there is no doubt that these discoveries have been made at intervals during the passing centuries, it is equally beyond question that they have rarely received the attention they deserve in the way of scientific observation of the circumstances of the discovery and the position of the "find"; this will be abundantly evident from the records of the finds referred to in the following pages, and these, of course, are those that have been recorded most minutely.

Springhead, about half a mile from the confines of the existing Borough of Gravesend, and actually within the Urban District of Northfleet, has furnished more important Roman remains than any other spot in the district. Mr. C. Roach Smith, in describing the second great find of Roman coins at Springhead, refers to the site as "that of an extensive *mansio* or *mutatio*, recorded in the second *Iter* of the Itinerary of Antoninus as *Vagniacæ*, nine miles from *Durobrivis*, Rochester, and eighteen from *Noviomagus*, towards *Londinium*." Walls more than two feet thick were uncovered, and he records the

ROMAN GRAVESEND.

fact that the remainder could be traced by the parched corn on the top. Sepulchral remains have been found on numerous occasions close by. The first recorded find of coins of the Roman period appears to have been made in the later years of the eighteenth century. They are referred to by Thorpe in the *Costumale Roffense*, where they are described as being turned up by the plough. Dunkin, the Dartford antiquary, states that the farmer, named Pedder, who held the fields at that time, had many in his possession, and the rector of Nursted, the Rev. Mr. Landor, also had a large number. Other people gathered specimens, and in this way dispersed the collection.

Many articles of Roman antiquity have also been found in Southfleet, where by some the Roman station is believed to have stood. At that period, however, the imaginary line between the parishes of Northfleet and Southfleet did not exist; and, as Springhead and Southfleet are practically contiguous, there appears little doubt that the Roman town or station spread over both. Following the discovery of the Roman coins, watercress was cultivated there, in 1805, in the stream fed by the springs. When digging the foundations of his hut, Bradbury, the man who first put the "gardens" to the use that has been associated with them ever since, uncovered the remains of a Roman bath. He continued to turn up articles of greater or less value, from a monetary point of view, including a large quantity of horse-shoes—to the weight, it is stated, of nearly half a ton.

In 1844, while the gardens were in the occupancy of Mr. Silvester, a field of pottery was uncovered, the articles including, "the bottoms of urns, *amphoræ*, Samian ware, etc. . . . the forms and patterns comprising almost an infinite diversity, ranging from the first rude efforts, to the elegant results of perfected art." Many other important finds have been made at this situation, but there are other Roman discoveries to be described round about. I cannot leave Springhead, however, without referring to the discovery of the hoard of coins in 1887, described by the late Mr. Roach Smith, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, as being 114 in number and extending from Gordianus the Third to Tetricus Junior. A catalogue of the coins is given in the paper, but it is not necessary to repeat it here.

There is some evidence (though not more conclusive than that on which much Roman-British history in other parts of the country is based) that an aqueduct or canal ran from

ROMAN GRAVESEND

Southfleet to the river, at a point, to be measured in yards, below the "Ship and Lobster" Inn and the Port of London Sanitary Authority's Isolation Hospital. This opens up the question as to the size of the Thames and its tides and tributaries and the height of the river banks at this period, but so far as it affects our purpose this will be dealt with later. Accepting the theory that here was a natural stream, or an aqueduct formed by art at a later period, it would run midway between Southfleet and Shorne. At this latter place, many remains have been discovered which leave little room for doubt that here was a cemetery of the Romans at the period with which we are dealing.

Further round this rough and imaginary circle of Roman civilization surrounding the site of modern Gravesend, we come to Higham. The low lands here are frankly marshes, subject at one time to the ordinary tidal inroads of the river, but now protected by a river wall, and drained by dykes of varying sizes. Here have been found enormous quantities of pottery, preserved by such well-known collectors as Mr. Crafter and Mr. Teanby, and afterwards deposited in considerable quantities in the Museum gathered together by the late Mr. G. M. Arnold. This collection, made probably between the years 1848 and 1862, was described in 1876 by Mr. C. Roach Smith, who stated that it consisted "of many hundreds of vessels, lamps, cinerary urns, *patera*, and vases of every size and shape. . . . Some of the remains from Higham were excavated . . . in a field within two hundred yards of the [old] church, in the walls of which are Roman tiles, . . . at a depth of three feet six inches." From a further statement the field to the east of the church would appear to be the one indicated. "The ground opened in various directions in the same field, as well as on the surface in parts which had been formerly disturbed, exposed vast quantities of similar deposits, covering at least four acres." From this it has been surmised that here was the site of a large and important pottery factory. The presence of cinerary urns containing bones was irrefutable proof that some at least of the land was devoted to sepulchral purposes; while the presence of both presuppose the existence of a population somewhat numerous. To continue quoting passages from the same authority: "Mr. Teanby's discoveries were made near the line of the North Kent Railway at Higham. There, as he informed me, he excavated a tile-tomb and much pottery." The following quotation is taken from

ROMAN GRAVESEND.

Mr. Teanby's diary of 24th November, 1861: "Walked over to Higham by the bank of the canal, with Peachey. The workmen have struck into the vein again, and cartloads of pottery have been turned out of late. Traces of large fires, at three distinct spots, were visible on the edge of the cutting."

The tile-tomb was described as oval in form, five feet in diameter, and three feet eight inches high. Extracts of the description of the process of manufacture of a tile-tomb taken from the Journal of the British Archæological Association, may be of interest in connection with this discovery at Higham more than half a century ago.

The cavity of the cist was about four and a half feet long by three feet broad; it was about eighteen inches high where the head and chest of the skeleton were laid, and the height at the other end was about twelve inches. The manner of forming the cist was as follows. The pit having been dug, the bottom and lower parts of the sides were worked and prepared, as clay is tempered for making pottery or bricks. When this had been sufficiently done, fuel was introduced and a strong fire made, which burnt into a solid substance of brick the bottom and lower parts of the sides. The ashes were cleared out, and the corpse was placed in the cist, with a quantity of moss. It appears from the nature of the cavity that the head must have been inclined on the chest, and the knees slightly raised and bent. A dome was then made over the corpse, composed of rods of wood, in diameter from an inch to half an inch, stretched across from side to side, crossed at about the distance of six or seven inches by other rods, two or three together, some impressions of which have been preserved. The dome of tempered clay was then made over it, fuel introduced, and a very strong fire again made, which burnt the dome into a complete vaulting of brick over the corpse. After this a layer of large stones was placed over the dome about a foot thick: and afterwards the pit was filled up with earth.

Before proceeding to the last and most important district of the great Roman colony or provincial centre, namely Ebbsfleet, it will be as well to make clear the divergence of opinion regarding the river or the sea and its tides as they affect the country round about at this time. I am not dealing now with the Gravesend district in the prehistoric period to which I have already referred, variously stated to be from one thousand to four thousand years before the Christian Era, but to the historic period that opened with the coming of the Romans. It has been stated that the larger, or at least a large, part of the land, now dry and cultivated, was at this time covered by

ROMAN GRAVESEND.

the sea or at least by the tide: others have said that some time during the Roman occupancy an immense and devastating tidal wave swept up the river and washed away enormous tracts of land on both banks between London and the sea, leaving the cliffs standing, with the rest of the country in between as marsh land, only just level with the highwater mark of the regular rise and fall of the tide. Both these hypotheses are supported by facts in "evidence," but obviously both cannot be right: and they therefore become largely expressions of opinion. My own opinion—I do not claim for it anything more than that—is that even within the narrow limits of the four or five miles of river bank on either side of Gravesend, erosion has taken place here and there almost side by side with a silting that has added to the ground: otherwise it is difficult to reconcile the marshes with the deterioration of the Ebbsfleet to its present insignificance as a stream. The natural explanation is that the lowest of the marshland has resulted from the gradual washing of high tides over a naturally low valley-land now kept back from the reclaimed land by the river wall: while Ebbsfleet has been gradually filled by earth from its own head, and washed down from the upper reaches of the river and deposited by the tide. This theory provides for all discoveries of Roman remains so far as I have been able to trace them; and does not seem to run counter to any of the evidence offered by the conformation of the country and the comparatively recent river deposits.

We come now to Ebbsfleet. Dunkin, with considerable assurance, traces this to a period long before the coming of the Romans, and describes the "city" with much imaginative detail. Many of his statements can be disproved, but a sufficient substratum of fact remains, and recent discoveries prove that the main fact, the existence of a Roman colony, is true. The discovery—probably the greatest yet made in the district—is the villa now being uncovered on the banks of this same Ebbsfleet.

QUEEN ANNE OR QUEEN CHARLOTTE? The Statue in Queen Square, Bloomsbury.

BY FRANCIS DRAPER.

THERE appear to be some good reasons for the opinion which has been expressed, that the statue in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, is not that of Queen Anne,¹ but Charlotte, consort of King George the Third.

In the *Court News* of May 4, 1775, it is stated that "Her Majesty's Statue lately put up in Queen's Square has the following motto: *Virtutis decus et tutamen*, or English: 'The ornament and guardian of Virtue.'" The words "Her Majesty" could at that time refer to no other than Queen Charlotte, who was born in 1744, and would, therefore, when the statue was set up be thirty-one years of age. She was married to the King and crowned in 1761, and died in 1818.

That the official announcement did not refer to any other "Queen's Square" is evident. The street now known as Queen Anne's Gate" was, it is true, once called "Queen's Square," but the statue of Queen Anne is still there, and there is no question as to whose effigy it is. Nor could it have any reference to "Queen's Square" at Bath, although the Queen was there in 1817, and had been before. The only monument there is a single obelisk erected by Nash to the honour of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had been benefited by drinking the waters. It is fair then to conclude that Queen's (now Queen) Square, Bloomsbury, is the place indicated, and that the statue still there is the one put up in 1775.

In Kearsley's *Stranger's Guide or Companion through London and Westminster and the country round* (which though undated² contains several references to Queens Anne, Caroline and Mary, and to many public events, sufficient to fix the period), we have this description of the square: "Queen's Square is an area of a peculiar kind, being left open on one side, for the sake of the beautiful landscape which is formed by the hills of Highgate and Hampstead, together with the

¹ See *H. C. M.*, vol. xii, p. 34.

² The British Museum Catalogue gives 1793 as the probable date of publication.

QUEEN ANNE OR QUEEN CHARLOTTE?

adjacent fields, a delicacy which deserves some appreciation, both as it is an advantage to the inhabitants and a beauty, even with regard to the square itself. In the centre is a statue of her present Majesty, which is a strong likeness."

The Ambulator, 1820 edition, after enumerating the squares then in existence in London (and naming many of them, without referring to any statues in them), speaks of Bloomsbury Square, with a bronze statue of the patriot Charles James Fox; of Grosvenor Square, with a gilt equestrian statue of George I; of Leicester Square, with a similar statue of the same monarch, but of superior execution; and of Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, where is a statue of *Queen Anne*; of Russell Square, with its excellent bronze statue of the late Duke of Bedford; of St. James's Square, ornamented with an equestrian figure of William III; and of Soho Square, with a statue of Charles II. No mention is made of other statues which existed in some of the other squares mentioned in the volume. An anonymous writer, who published a book in 1734 entitled *A Critical Review of the Public Buildings, Statues and Ornaments about London and Westminster*, and who appears to have made this subject his especial study, very severely criticizes the statue on the top of Bloomsbury Church; and ridicules the idea that the two houses at the corners of Harley Street and Chandos Street, in Cavendish Square, were ever designed for the wings of a nobleman's palace, and dismisses the notion as a vulgar mistake. Of Grosvenor Square he says: "The enclosure around the area is clumsy, and the brick-work not only superfluous, but a blemish to the view it was intended to preserve and adorn. The statue in the centre makes a very good appearance in prospect, and is a fine decoration, but, in itself, is in no way admirable or deserving of applause." He examines very minutely and in detail the surroundings of St. James's Square, and says: "I can never thoroughly applaud the basin itself, till it is finished, as it ought, with a statue or obelisk in the middle, worthy of the place it was to appear in, and the neighbourhood it was to adorn." Although he got as near to Queen Anne's Gate (then Queen's Square) as Storey's Gate, he seems to have missed or passed by that corner, with the statue of Queen Anne, without making any observation regarding it; the reason for this is probably plain enough, for that part of the Park was in a deplorable condition, and the roads to the square almost unapproachable. All the contemporary accounts bear witness to

QUEEN ANNE OR QUEEN CHARLOTTE?

the wretched state of the locality. "After a storm in 1768, the water in the canal rose to such height, that only four inches of the rails which surrounded it appeared above the surface; the parade was overflowed, and the sentries were driven from their posts; all the lower part of the Park, as far as Storey's Gate Coffee-house, was rendered inundated and quite impassable."

The normal state was not much better. "Notwithstanding all the improvements that had been attempted, the unclean habits of the chairmen and soldiers in the Park and the smell of the stables at the Horse Guards pervaded every avenue leading to it. The puddles of stagnant water on Duck Island was very offensive in Summer as the air could not circulate owing to the willows and brambles with which it was overgrown, and various other nuisances of a similar kind." The entrance to Queen's Square at that time was through a door in the brick wall of the Park.

The critic, however, found his way to Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, which he describes as "an area of a peculiar kind, being open on one side for the sake of the beautiful landscape," etc. (using the same words as previously quoted, and evidently filched from the earlier book), but he makes no mention of any statue, there which he certainly would have done had it existed. With one other extract I dismiss this writer; it is one that reveals the rage for statue making at this period. He says: "Between Devonshire House and Hyde Park Corner, there is nothing more remarkable, except the shops and yards of statuaries, and sorry I am that they afford a judicious foreigner such a flagrant opportunity to arraign and condemn our taste. Among a hundred statuaries you shall not see one, even tolerable in design or execution; nay, even the copies of the antique are so monstrously wretched that one can scarcely guess at the originals."

As a more modern authority, I may quote Sir Walter Besant's *Holborn and Bloomsbury*, in which it is stated: "Queen's Square, was built in Queen Anne's reign and named in her honour, but it is a statue of Queen Charlotte that stands beneath the plane trees in the centre." It is thus clear that more than one writer has fallen into the mistake of regarding the statue as that of Queen Anne, for which there is not much excuse. No doubt many other evidences could be found to prove that the statue is that of Queen Charlotte, even if the likeness in the face to so many engravings and portraits were not sufficient to establish the fact.



The Statue in Queen Square, Bloomsbury.

QUEEN ANNE OR QUEEN CHARLOTTE?

Referring to the absence of the inscription said to be upon it, and indeed the omission of an inscription of any kind, we wonder if it was because a successor has not thought enough of the previous Queen to take measures to perpetuate the tribute that the words expressed. I would not suggest that any want of reverence for the Queen would warrant the assigning of any such cause, though I have heard those who lived in her time speak of "snuffy Queen Charlotte," but this only had reference to a familiar if somewhat untidy habit. I am reminded that one English Queen, when she came to the throne, covered with canvas and wall-paper the paintings on the walls of a room in one of our palaces, which portrayed the advent of the Prince of Orange and his Queen, after the flight of James II.

The probabilities are that the inscription still exists on the original pedestal, hidden by that which now presents itself to the eye. The refacing or recasing of old structures is not uncommon. The brick mansions of the Rothschilds, in Piccadilly and Park Lane, were a few years ago entirely refaced with stone. The tomb of Richard Pendrell, in St. Giles's Churchyard conceals the original one beneath it. The Rufus Stone in the New Forest, is now not seen but only the iron casing that preserves it, though many less observant visitors, glance at it, with the impression that they have seen the original monument. It is possible, therefore, that the square stone pedestal on which the Queen is placed conceals another, perhaps of a different design altogether, which may retain the original inscription. All the mouldings and members of the present pedestal by their good condition point to this possibility. How the statue of the Queen survived the damage that was done in Bloomsbury Square during the Gordon Riots is a marvel; perhaps the stone pedestal received some damage then, while the leaden effigy standing on it was less susceptible to the sharp and sudden blow of the hammer, or other instrument.

As to the sculptor whose work it is. Nine years before it was set up in 1775, Joseph Wilton received a commission to execute an equestrian statue of George III, representing him as Marcus Aurelius, to be erected in Berkeley Square. When he received this commission, in 1766, he had not long settled in London, having travelled a great deal abroad. If he was in favour at the Court, and his work considered to be meritorious, it is probable that this statue of the Queen is also his work; but there were many other eminent and perhaps better known sculptors at the time, to whom it may be attributed. Further search would doubtless settle the question.

THE HONOUR OF AQUILA.

BY E. A. CHANDLER.

BEFORE the Norman Conquest, Earl Godwin held Witley for 20 hides; Domesday Book records that it was then rated at 12 hides; there was land for 16 ploughs, a church, and 3 acres of meadow, and wood pasture for 30 pigs. After the Conquest the Manor was bestowed by William upon Gilbert de Aquila, or d'Aigle, for the distinguished services of his father and his grandfather, who fell at the Battle of Hastings.

Gilbert's son and heir, Richer, lived through the reigns of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II; he was engaged in two futile rebellions and forfeited his lands more than once, but obtained restitution of them in the 4th year of the reign of Henry II, 1157-8.

He died in 1176, leaving an eldest son, Gilbert, who is described as Lord of Witlei, and as having married a daughter of Hamelin, Earl of Warenne and Surrey. He died in the 6th year of King John, 1204-5. His eldest son, Gilbert, succeeded to his estates, but he seems to have offended the King (Henry III) by going into Normandy without the King's leave. At any rate, he forfeited his lands, for in 1235 Henry III granted the Honour of Aquila, or the Eagle, to Gilbert Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to John, Earl of Warenne, to hold during the King's pleasure.

Six years afterwards, in 1241, the King bestowed the Honour, during pleasure, on Peter de Savoy, uncle to the Queen. In 30 Henry III, 1245-6, Peter had a formal grant made to him by the King of the "Honour of Aquila." An "Honour" consisted of a group of manors granted by the King, with power to the grantee to hold a court possessing civil and criminal jurisdiction, whereupon the grantees became inferior lords, and the seignory of the superior lord was termed an "Honour." This particular "Honour" retained the name of "Aquila" long after the family of Aquila ceased to have anything to do with it. The Manor of Witley was therefore part of a group of royal manors, of which the Sovereign from time to time made revocable grants.

During Peter's ownership disputes arose between him and the customary and other tenants of the manor. He is reported

THE HONOUR OF AQUILA.

to have raised the rents and by other exactions of service to have been guilty of intolerable oppressions. After Peter's death the Lordship of Witley seems to have been settled on Eleanor, Queen of Henry III, as part of her dower, for in the first year of Edward I, 1272, she remitted such additional rents and services as had been imposed on the tenants by Peter, on condition of their future fidelity and performing a Mass yearly in the Church of Witley in honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the souls of the late King Henry and the said Peter de Savoy, for ever. This Queen died a nun at Ambresbury in 1291, when the Lordship reverted to the Crown. It seems to have remained in the hands of the Crown for some time, the King granting leases to individuals, for in 12 Richard II, 1389, during the tenancy for life of one Walter Rauf and Mundina his wife, certain tenants of the manor refused to do their accustomed services, to pay "tallages" and rents, and disturbed the warren which formed part of the manor, by taking thereout *vi et armis* certain rabbits and hares. A Royal Commission was issued to inquire into the matter and it is of this Commission that I propose to give a detailed account, its interest to Witley people lying in the fact that certain individuals from Roke, Milford and Mousehill appear to have been concerned in the offence.

But first a few words about the manorial system on which society rested at the time. The land, under this system, was divided into large estates. The Lord of the Manor retained part as his "demesne," and the rest was divided amongst tenants, who rendered service for them to their lord; these tenants were either freemen, holding free tenements, or villeins, holding by copy of court-roll, nominally at the will of the lord, but really with security of tenure. The Manor-house was the centre of every English village [for instance in Witley, the Manor-house stood close to the Church on the north-east side of it, and relics of it are now turned up when graves are dug in that part of the churchyard]; the Manor Court was held in its hall, and there the lord received homage and held his "View of Frankpledge." Outside, if the Lord possessed criminal jurisdiction, stood the gallows. Around was the demesne, cultivated by the services of the villein, who held his own land by the performance of certain services, strictly limited by custom and performed at certain times of the year, and who was, in this, distinguished from the labourer who had no work throughout the year. Under successive lords exemp-

THE HONOUR OF AQUILA.

tions from service were from time to time granted and again exacted, which gave rise to constant disputes and, as time went on, villeins sought to discontinue their accustomed services to their lords, and claimed to be free of all services.

The following proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, Hilary Term, 1388-9, are probably typical of many disputes of the time:

Surrey:—Alan of Steddall, William Brenchaste, and William Hankeford, who had been appointed to inquire whether the tenants of the manor of Witley had refused to render the services due to Walter Rauf and Mundina his wife, who then held the manor for life, and whether Walter and Mundina had claimed more than their right, made their presentment to the effect that;—

There was warren in the manor, both in the demesne lands and in all other lands held of that manor, as well native as bond, and that John Harethorn, Stephen le Erl, Alan of Milford, Richard Conemere, Walter Hegger, William Hameldon, Richard Goos, Richard le Erle, William Rede of Mousehill and Richard of Roke, tenants of the manor, at divers times in the 10th, 11th, and 12th years of the King's reign [1386 to 1389], entered the warren by force and arms, and without leave chased and took away 40 rabbits and 6 hares, and that the greater part of the warren was destroyed.

That the said Stephen le Erle, Alan de Milford, Richard Conemere, Walter Hegger, William Hameldon, Richard le Erle, William Rede of Mousehill and Richard of Roke, had declined to pay a certain yearly rent of £4, called "tallage," received from all bond-tenants, and resisted by force and arms, and raised a certain subsidy of money amongst themselves, and compelled one John Logge and many other tenants to contribute; and in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th years had banded together to prevent Walter and Mundina having warren and levying the tallage.

That (although Walter and Mundina ought to have pannage for all pigs and piglets of all the customary lands of the manor yearly, at the first court after Michaelmas, viz.: from each customary tenant having less than 11 pigs or piglets one penny, if 11 pigs or piglets the third best pig or piglet, and if more than 11 pigs or piglets for each pig 1*d.* and for each piglet $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*), the said Stephen, Alan, Richard Conemere, Walter Heggere, William Hameldone, Richard le Erl, William Rede and Richard of Roke, refused to render that pannage, and resisted by force and arms.

That whereas Walter and Mundina held views of Frank-

THE HONOUR OF AQUILA.

pledge [a court at which householders of each Tything attended and gave pledges for the good behaviour of each other] twice a year, viz.: once after Easter and once after Michaelmas, of all residents within the manor: the aforesaid Stephen and all others, except John Harethorn and Richard Goos, as also all residents within the manor, claim to be excused, where they have no right to be excused; also that all tenants, as well natives as bond, ought to be bound on the Book to do certain services touching the said court and manor, and that for three years past all the tenants, both native and bond, had refused to be sworn.

That Master Walter and Mundina had claimed no more rents and services than those tenants and their ancestors had rendered from time immemorial.

Order was then given to the Sheriff to cause the several persons to attend to answer, and on the octave of Holy Trinity following the said Stephen, Alan, William Rede and Richard of Roke attended at Westminster, and were severally called upon to state how they wished to acquit themselves of the said trespasses.

As regards the warren, Stephen and two others declared that they knew nothing of the warren, but that they had an estate in their lands and tenements, viz: Alan in right of his wife Margery, and the rest to them and their heirs by deed, and with right to make deeds of feoffment at their pleasure, according to the custom of the manor.

As to the chasing in the warren and taking of rabbits and hares, they said they were not guilty, and as to the tallage of £4 they said that at the time of Henry, the ancestor of the present King, one Peter of Savoy (being seised of the manor) levied this tallage of £4, and that he afterwards died without issue and the manor descended to Eleanor, wife of Edward I, his (Peter's) kinswoman and heir, as daughter of his brother the Duke of Provence, who granted a Charter of Remission.

Stephen and the others denied that they had been guilty of resisting the tallage *vi et armis*.

And as to the collection of money, Stephen and the others said that they were grievously oppressed by Walter and Mundina, and that Stephen and the others without malice collected money amongst themselves for aid and defence according to the laws of the country. They were not guilty of compelling John Logg and others to contribute unwillingly.

As to the pannage, Stephen and the others said that it was their custom that each customary tenant having less than 11

THE HONOUR OF AQUILA.

pigs should give 1*d.* for each: if 11 then that the Lord should have the third best pig, and if more than 11 for each pig 1*d.*¹

As to the attendance of resident tenants twice a year without excuse, Stephen and the others said that from time immemorial excuses were made.

As to the tenants, both native and bond, and the liability to be charged on the Book, Stephen and the others said that at the two courts held for View of Frankpledge, whenever they were sworn they did it of goodwill; they had not been guilty of resistance *vi et armis*.

Edmund Brudenell, suing on behalf of the King, said that, as to the allegation that Alan of Milford held in right of his wife Margery and that the others hold their lands to them and their heirs by charter, those tenants held in bondage and at the will of the Lord, and that they were guilty of all the charges first made.

As to the tallage of the £4 Edmund knew nothing of Queen Eleanor's charter, and said that the late King Edward III, grandfather of the present King, was seised of the manor and tallage, that they descended to the present King, who granted the manor and its appurtenances to Walter and Mundina, by virtue whereof they were seised of the manor and tallage, and that the excuse for exoneration from tallage was not sufficient; and as in their plea they acknowledged the withholding, he asked for conviction, as also with regard to the resistance *vi et armis*.

He also claimed that they were guilty of collecting money, and of forcing John Logg and others to contribute.

With regard to the pannage of pigs and piglets, wherein the tenants had pleaded that they did not owe pannage for little pigs, Edmund said that King Edward, the grandfather of the present King, was seised of the manor and of the pannage of pigs and piglets, which manor descended to the present King, who granted it to Walter and Mundina.

As to the plea that the tenants were not required to swear or make presentments at any courts except at the View of Frankpledge twice a year, Edmund said that the tenants in that manor in bondage, as well as at will, in the time of Edward, the late King, in the time of the present King, and in the time of Walter and Mundina, had sworn to do all services.

Finally Edmund said that these tenants held their tenelements in bondage and at will, and that as to the residue contained in the Presentation, the tenants were guilty.

The case was called before a jury on the octave of Michael-

¹ Their point was that only pigs were to count, not piglets.

THE HONOUR OF AQUILA.

mas, and was respited until the quindene of Martinmas, on which day, before the King at Wycombe, came Edmund and Stephen le Erl, Alan of Milford, William Rede of Mousehill and Richard of Roke, in person. A jury was sworn, and Master Walter Rauf, being sworn, said on oath that the said Stephen, Alan, William, and Richard held divers customary lands within the manor, both native and bond, and not freely by charter, viz: the said Stephen held one messuage and land, for which the said Stephen should be reeve of the manor and perform customs and services; and also the said Alan, in right of Margery his wife, held one messuage and the fourth part of a virgate of land; likewise the said William held two messuages and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ virgates of land; and likewise the said Richard held one messuage and one virgate of land; for which each of them must act as reeve, and do all services incumbent on such tenants, both native and bond, within the said manor; and that the said Stephen, Alan, William, and Richard, at divers times in the 10th, 11th, and 12th years of the present King, entered the warren and by force and arms and without the permission of the said Walter and Mundina, tenants of the manor for life by the King's grant, chased and carried off 40 rabbits and 6 hares, and chased and laid hands on divers other hares and rabbits, and that Stephen, Alan, William, and Richard refused in words to pay the tallage, but did not resist payment *vi et armis*, and that Stephen, Alan, William, and Richard, and other tenants of the manor in bondage, levied a subsidy in money amongst themselves, and banded themselves together with the intention of resisting the said Walter and Mundina, to prevent their having warren and levying tallage; that the said Stephen, Alan, William, and Richard made such agreement for raising money amongst themselves without making oath for that purpose, and raised divers moneys amongst themselves and other tenants, and forced John Logge to contribute against his will; and the said Stephen, Alan, William, and Richard refused to pay the pannage, but did not resist *vi et armis*; and that all the tenants within the manor, both native and bond, ought to be sworn on the Book at every court, and do all services touching the said court and manor, and that Stephen, Alan, William, and Richard, tenants by birth and in bondage, being equired at all courts, as well as the two courts of View of Frankpledge, to swear on the Book and do services, had altogether refused and resisted *vi et armis* to do so.

THE HONOUR OF AQUILA.

On this, Stephen le Erl, Alan of Milford, William Rede of Mousehill and Richard of Roke were committed to the prison of the King's Marshalsea in the custody of Robert Parys, the Marshal, Hilary Term, 12 Richard II.

The Sheriff was directed to take William Heggere, William Hameldon and Richard Goos, and to have them before the King on the octave of the Purification, to answer for the said trespasses, but they came not. The Sheriff was therefore directed to have their bodies before the King on the octave of Michaelmas. They were subsequently taken, declared rebels, and imprisoned.

THE HALLOWING OF CRAMP-RINGS.

BY CORNELIUS NICHOLLS.

IN the use of rings of gold and silver for the above ceremony, we see the continuance of one of the most ancient of all superstitions; for the Ring has been looked upon as a talisman or charm to avert evil from its possessor by all nations and at all periods of the world's history. In its connection with the above service, we are once more referred to that prolific source of the miraculous—Edward the Confessor.

The story of his mysterious ring is fully set forth in Caxton's *Golden Legend*. There we find that on a certain day the King, being present at a church at Clavering, in Essex, dedicated to St. John, was greeted by an old man, who asked alms for the sake of God and St. John; having no money with him, the King took a ring from his finger and gave it to the old man. Years after this event some pilgrims to the Holy Land, having lost their way in the forest, and being in great danger at night from wild beasts, suddenly saw "a fayre auntyent man, with white hair for age." This man refreshed and rested the pilgrims, and on the morrow, having set them on the right way, and being pleased to hear them speak well of their King, told them he was St. John the Evangelist, and that on their return home they were to say to their King that "St. John did grete him well by the token that he gave to me this rynge, which rynge ye shall deliver to him agayne." The legend here briefly related seems to have been a sufficient foundation on which to build the strange ceremony carried

THE HALLOWING OF CRAMP-RINGS.

out by our early English kings, and, with some exceptions, practised up to and during the reign of Queen Mary.

As to the mysterious ring of the Confessor, we are told that anciently it was kept at Westminster Abbey as a relic, and used for the curing of diseases, a practice which subsequently developed into the curing of Cramp and Epilepsy by succeeding monarchs.

This ceremony was observed on Good Friday, together with another old custom known as "Creeping to the Cross," which latter was also practised in the households of the nobility,¹ and in churches throughout the land. On these occasions an offering of money was made which anciently it was customary to redeem by an equivalent amount, in order that it might be converted, or apparently go towards the conversion of the same into rings of gold and silver. Early allusions are made to these "Healing Rings" in the Household Constitutions of Henry II, and again in the Eleemosynary Roll of 9 Edward III, 1335-6, where certain sums are mentioned *pro annulis medicinalibus*. Also in the 9th year of Edward IV, 1469-70, there is a record of £33 6s. 8d. paid for the King's Good Friday rings of gold and silver. Later on allusion is made to a MS. copy of the King of England's household arrangements, dated 1521 (Henry VIII) preserved in the Imperial Library in Paris. This contains the Order of the King, touching his coming to service, hallowing of the Cramp-rings, and offering and creeping to the Cross (13 Henry VIII), and this was the procedure:

First the King to come to the closett, or to the chappell, with the lords and noblemen waiting on him, without any sword to bee borne before him on that day, and there to tarry in his travers till the Bishop and Deane hath brought forth the Crucifix out of the vestry (the Almoner reading the service of the cramp rings) layd upon a cushion before the High Altar, and then the huishers [ushers] shall lay a carpet before yt for the King to creep to the Crosse upon, and yt done there shall be a forme set upon the carpet before the crucifix, for the King to kneele on; and the Master of the Jewell-house shall be ther ready with the cramp-rings in a basin or basins of silver; the King shall kneele upon the sayd cushion before the fourme, and then must the Clerk of the Closett bee ready with the booke conteyning the service of the hallowing of the sayd rings; and the Almoner must kneele upon the right

¹ See *Northumberland Household Book*.

THE HALLOWING OF CRAMP-RINGS.

hand of the King, holding of the sayde booke; and when it is done, the King shall rise and go to the High Altar, where an huisher must be ready with a cushion to lay for his grace to kneele upon, and the greatest Lord or Lords being then present shall take the basin or basins with the rings, and bear them after the King, and then deliver them to the King to offer; and this done, the Queen shall come down out of her closett or travers into the Chappell, with her ladies and gentlewomen wayters on her, and creepe to the Crosse; and that done she shall returne againe into her closett or travers; and then the ladies shall come downe and creepe to the Crosse, and when they have done, the Lords and Noblemen shall in likewise.¹

Unlike the Touching for the King's Evil, this was exclusively an English custom, but so great was the fame of these hallowed rings, that Ambassadors of foreign Courts made suit to participate in their gift; thus Lord Berners, when at the Court of the Emperor Charles V, as ambassador from Henry VIII, writes to Wolsey, "If your Grace remember me with some Crampe-Rynges, ye shall do a thing much looked for, and I trust to bestow theym well, with Godd's grace."²

It was, however, during the reign of Queen Mary, the last celebrant of the custom, that the hallowing of Cramp-Rings seems to have reached its climax. No longer are the ordinary offerings to the Cross esteemed sufficient to supply the demand, for we find in the year 1556 the following transaction with the Court jeweller concerning "broken gold":

Item, delivered by the Queen's commandment, the 16th March, *annis predictis*, to Robert Raynes (his highnes' golde-smyth), in broken gold to make crampe rings, being part of a George hedde of golde received from Windsor, of the chardge of the Office of the Juelles and Plate, having enamell and other rubyshe in it, delivered for fyftie and five ounces, the same being tryed and clerly melted, and retourned by him into golde jemewes,³ weing 53 oz.

Item, more delivered the same tyme to the said Raynes, to make cramp rings, in broke plate of silver, theise parcells: a basone and a lyre of silver, late the Earl of Bedfoarde's, and of the chardge of the saide Office, per oz. 85 oz. di.

Item, two chaundlors of silver, late the said Earle's, and of the said chardge, per oz. 42 oz. qr.; and a crysmatory box of

¹ From a MS. in the King's Library, Paris, cited in *Gents. Mag.*, 1774.

² Harley MS. 295.

³ *Gêmeaux*, twins; *i.e.*, double rings.

THE HALLOWING OF CRAMP-RINGS.

silver, of the plate received from churches, per oz. 12 oz.; all weing together oone hundreth thirtie-nyne ounces, thre quarters, which was retourned by him in silver jemewes, 34 oz. 3 qr.

All which golde and silver, being made into cramp-rings, were halowed by the Queens Maiestie on Good Frydaye, and so geven by her Highnes awaye, as hath bene accustomed.¹

These articles of "broken gold and silver" apparently formed a part of the remaining ornaments derived from Somerset's "gleanings" from the churches; for after their great spoliation by Henry VIII they still retained many rich ornaments. These, as we learn from Fuller, were found by the Commissioners appointed for the search to be more considerable than was expected, "considering the distance of time and the *cold scent* they followed so many years after the Dissolution."²

As in the ceremony of Touching for the King's Evil, previously alluded to, so also in this of the Cramp Rings, we have the Venetian Ambassador's account of Queen Mary's part in the service.

On Good Friday, April 4, 1556, she adored the Cross in the Church of the Friars, the Legate being present, creeping to it, kissing it, with inexpressible emotion. She then proceeded to the curious royal function of the benediction of cramp-rings. On the right of the High Altar, four benches were set, so as to form a square, an enclosure into which she, descending from her oratory, placed herself on her knees: in her hands she took two basins full of rings, the one of her own, the other of others, labelled with their names, and passed them from hand to hand, repeating certain psalms and invocations.³

And here, while availing ourselves of these Venetian records, we are tempted to make a digression as to the character of this much-wronged Queen, whose very name in certain histories bore so terrible a prefix. For if to see ourselves as others see us be desirable, so also is it well to receive independent testimony concerning our historical characters. This is contained in a report to his senate by Giacomo Soranzo (Ambassador to Edward VI, and to Queen Mary), dated

¹ T. Nichols, *Illustrations of Manners*, etc. (Appendix).

² *Church History*, Book VII.

³ Cited in Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, vol. iv, p. 568.

THE HALLOWING OF CRAMP-RINGS.

18th August 1554. After giving a description of the Queen's personal appearance and occupations, he continues:

Her Majesty's countenance indicates great benignity and clemency, which are not belied by her conduct, for although she has had many enemies, and though so many of them were by law condemned to death, yet had the executions depended solely on her Majesty's will, not one of them perhaps would have been enforced; but, deferring to her Council in everything, she in this matter likewise complied with the wishes of others rather than with her own.

With regard to the Church service used on these occasions, it may be of interest to give part of the text from "The Ceremonies of Blessing Cramp-Rings on Good Friday, used by the Catholic Kings of England."¹

The Rings lying in one Bason or more, this prayer is to be said over them:

O God, the maker of heavenly and earthly creatures, and the most Gracious restorer of mankind, the dispenser of all Grace, and the origin of all blessings; send downe from Heaven thy Holy Spirit, the Comforter, upon these Rings, Artificially framed by the workman, and by thy Greate power purify them so, that all the malice of the fowle and venomous Serpent be driven out; And so the metal, which by Thee was created, may remaine pure and free from all dregs of the enemy. Through, etc.

A Blessing of the Rings.

O God, who hast manifested the Greatest wonders of thy power by the cure of diseases, and who were pleased that Rings should be a pledge of fidelity in the patriarch Judah, a priestly ornament in Aaron, the mark of a faithful guardian in Darius, and in this Kingdom a remedy of divers diseases: Graciously be pleased to bless ☩ and sanctify ☩ these Rings, to the end that all such who weare them may be free from all snares of the Devil, may be defended by the power of celestial armour, and that no contraction of the nerves, or any danger of the falling sickness may infest them, but that in all sort of diseases by thy help they may find relief.

The rubric continues:

These prayers being said, the King's Highnes rubbith the Rings between his hands, saying,

Sanctify, O Lord, these Rings, and graciously bedew them

¹ Cited in Waldron's *Literary Museum*, 1694.

THE HALLOWING OF CRAMP-RINGS.

with the dew of thy benediction, and consecrate them by the rubbing of our hands, which thou hast been pleased according to our ministry to sanctify by an external effusion of holy oyle upon them: to the end that what the nature of the mettel is not able to performe, may be wrought by the Greatnes of thy Grace.

Then must holy water be cast on the rings, saying, etc. ¹

Then with certain other prayers the ceremony ends.

The definition of Cramp, as we find in the old medical books, had a much more terrible significance than that we now assign to it. Here is a doctor's definition of the disease, written in 1598:

Spasmos is the Greek word, *Spasmus* is the Barbarus word. In Latin it is named *Convulsio* or *Contractio Nervorum*. In English it is named the Cramp, which is attraction of the sinewes, and there be foure kindes. The first is named *Emprosthotonos*, the which is when the head is drawen downeward to the breast. The second is named *Thetanos*, and that is when the forehead and all the whole body is drawen so vehemently that the body is immovable. The third is named *Opisthotonos*, and that is when the head is drawen backward or the mouth is drawen towards the eare. The fourth kind is named *Spasmos*, the which doth draw the sinewes verie straight and asperoustie in the feete and legges." ²

He then gives a remedy: "The King's Majesty hath a greate help in this matter, in hallowing Cramp Ringes, and so given without money or peticion."

Such then were the ancient modes of *Faith Healing*. It must not, however, be supposed that no other attempts were made to deal with these diseases, and incredibly futile were the remedies propounded by some of the early writers on the subject. Thus the modern idea of *similia similibus curantur* was formulated so long ago as 1595 in the following manner: "Many things are holpen by their like, as Phisitions can tell that the braines of manye thinges are helpfull to the braine of man, the lunges to the lunges, the eye to the eye, and foote to the foote, etc. The right eye of a frogge applied to the right eye of one that is purblinde, or the left eye to the left, healeth the party. So doth the eye of a Crabfish." This same author³ tells us, on the authority of "Plinie": "If one that hath the

¹ Waldron's *Literary Museum*, 1792.

² Dr. Andrew Boord, *Breviary of Health*, 1552.

³ Thomas Johnson's *Cornucopia*, 1595.

THE HALLOWING OF CRAMP-RINGS.

Falling Sickness doo marke the place where his head fell at the first beginning of the disease, and in that place doo drive an Iron naile over the head, it will presently help or deliver him from falling any more." We are also told that "There be certaine wild beasts in the woods of Germanie that have no joynts in their legs, and therefore never lie down, but stand to rest them, which the Hunters knowing, sawe the trees (whereunto they are accustomed to lean unto) half asunder, then the trees falling, the Beasts also are taken." This fact of natural history is further improved upon by a later writer¹ who says:

The hoofs of a beast called *Alces* [the Elk], which is a wild beast like a fallow Deer, having no jointes in his legges, hath a marvellous virtue and strength against the falling Evil, for a little piece thereof, enclosed in a Ring put upon the finger next the little finger, so that the same piece of the hoof be turned toward the palm of the hand, doth recreate them marvellous much that are fallen, and immediately makes them rise up. Which *Lemnius*, saith he, proved once or twice. And *Mizaldus* saith that he proved it and it was counted for a miracle. *Johannes Agricola* doth say the like. The hoof of the right hinder foote is to be chosen. But you must take heed of false deceivers, which sell the Hoofes of Oxen or Kine for the true Hoofes of *Alces*.

A cure for the King's Evil runs: "If the feet of a great living Toad be cut off, the Moon void of course, that is, aspecting none and hastens towards the Conjunction of the Sun, and hanged about the neck of him or her that hath the King's Evil, it so profits, that oftentimes it delivers the party from the disease." From which it seems that at least up to the dates of such remedies the Royal Touch and the Hallowed Cramp-rings held the field.

Cramp-rings were formerly so esteemed that they were regarded as heirlooms by their possessors; thus in the will of John Baret of Bury St. Edmunds, dated 1463, a bequest is made to My Lady Waldegrave of "a rowund ryng of the Kinges silver." In another part of the will he bequeaths to Thomas Brews, esquier, "my crampe ryng with black innamel, and a part silver and gilt"; and in 1535 Edmund Lee bequeaths "to my nece Thwarton my gold ryng with a turkes [turquoise] and a cramp ring of gold w^t all."²

¹ Thomas Lupton, *A thousand notable things*, 1659.

² *Bury Wills*; Camden Society.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

UNPUBLISHED MSS. RELATING TO THE HOME COUNTIES IN THE COLLECTION OF P. C. RUSHEN.

1700, Michaelmas Term, 12 William III.—Contemporary copy exemplification of a Recovery of 2 messuages, 1 toft, 70 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, 7 acres of wood and common of pasture in Ashamsted and Woolhampton, co. Berks. Henry Beane, demandant, Adrian Moore, deforciant, William Wickens, vouchee.

1468, Easter Term, 8 Edward IV.—Chirograph of Fine of 24 acres of land and 8 acres of pasture in Bulfan, co. Essex; Lewis Fitzlowes, esq., John Clapton, esq., Robert Plomer, and William Moore, querants, and Thomas Broman and Isabel his wife, deforciant.

8 March, 7 Hen.—Chirograph of Fine of 1 messuage in Waltham Holy Cross; Margery late wife of John Ware of Waltham Holy Cross, querant, and Thomas Faulkener and Agnes his wife, deforciant.

1608, Michaelmas Term, 6 James I.—Chirograph of Fine of 1 messuage, 1 dove-house, 1 garden, 50 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, 6 acres of pasture and 2 acres of wood in Belchamp Otten, Water Belchamp otherwise Belchamp William, Foxearth otherwise Foxherd, Borley and Lyston; Henry Kent, querant, William Mayor and Elizabeth Mayor, widow, deforciant.

1614, Hilary Term, 11 James I.—Chirograph of Fine of 1 messuage and 1 curtilage in the parish of St. Martin's, Ludgate; Edward ap John ap Hugh ap Griffith, querant, and Richard ap John ap Hugh ap Griffith and Katherine his wife, deforciant.

1660-1, 12 Charles II.—Chirograph of Fine of 1 messuage, 1 stable, 1 garden, 1 orchard and 12 acres of meadow in Hendon; Robert Barker and Thomas Pownsett, querants, Thomarsh Clarke, gent., and Hester his wife, deforciant.

1719, Easter Term, 5 George I.—Chirograph of Fine of 1 Messuage, 1 cottage, 1 barn, 6 stables, 1 curtilage and 2 gardens in Bromley; Francis Valentine, querant, and Henry Wynett and Lucy his wife, deforciant.

1770, Michaelmas Term, 10 George III.—Chirograph of Fine of 2 cottages and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land and a moiety of 1 messuage, 6 stables, 1 curtilage and $\frac{1}{4}$ acre of land in Bromley; Edward Wellum, plaintiff, and George Waylett & Elizabeth his wife, deforciant.

1699, Michaelmas Term, 11 William III.—Contemporary copy of chirograph of Fine of five parts of 3 messuages and 1 top in the parishes of St. Bartholomew and St. Bridget; Richard Brooke, gent., querant, and Robert Poynting, Richard Poynting, Anne Joyce, widow, and John Hannam and Susan his wife, deforciant.

1721, Trinity Term, 7 George I.—Contemporary copy of chirograph of Fine of 6 acres of land, 9 acres of meadow, 8 acres of pasture and 45 acres of marsh in Berry and Ramsey; Robert Sergeant, Samuel Sergeant, Joseph Sergeant, John Assell & William Cave, querants, and Trive Hamond and Theodosia his wife, Beaumont Redman and Anne his wife, deforciant.

1687, November 20.—Deed of covenant to levy a Fine between Edmund Sawyer of Heywood, co. Berks, esq., and Mary his wife, William Cherry of The Middle Temple, London, esq., Francis Cherry of the same, gent., and Elizabeth his wife, James Hayes of the same, esq., Constantine Phips of the same, esq., William Yorke of The Inner Temple, London, esq. and Sarah his wife, William Bright of The Inner Temple, esq., and Dorothy his wife, and Johanna Finch of Heywood, spinster, of the one part, and Richard Minshull of The Inner Temple, esq., of the other part. Reciting that John Finch of Feens, co. Berks, esq., died seised in fee of certain messuages in The Poultry, in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, London, leaving the said Elizabeth, Mary, Sarah, Dorothy and Johanna

NOTES AND QUERIES.

his only daughters and coheirs, and that a fifth part descended to the said Dorothy; and that the said John by his will gave to Dorothy £400 out of certain messuages in Coleman St., to be sold: Witnessed that the parties of the first part covenanted to levy a Fine unto Minshull of a crop or close of Marsh ground, called Pods Elmes, containing 4 acres, in the new Marsh, Westham, co. Essex, occupied by Thomas Hulbert, and certain messuages in Bell Alley and Swan Alley, in the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman St., London, occupied by — Eaton, — Lee, — Marshall, — Grosvenor, — Fox, — Banks, — Clovers Vanlangerke, and one fifth of certain messuages in The Poultry, occupied by Richard Northan, Paul Aylworth and — Gee, so descended to the said Dorothy; the fine was to be to the following uses: the 4 acres in Westham to said Bright and his heirs, the messuages in Bell and Swan Alleys to Bright and his executors, etc., for 500 years, then to Sawyer, Cherry, Yorke and Bright in trust for sale to perform the trusts of said Will: and the said one fifth part to uses declared in a deed of June 20 1687, between William Bright the elder, of Oxford, esq., of the one part, and the said William Yorke, and Richard Godwell of Oxford, gent., of the other part. Declared that the said term was in trust to raise the said £400, and afterwards to attend the inheritance.

1692, January 10.—Deed of covenant to levy a Fine, between Mary Bovington of Allhallows in the Wall, London, widow, Roger Hayward the younger, of Reading, co. Berks, bargemaster, and Anne his wife, William Elliott the elder, of Gt. Marlow, co. Bucks, butcher, Robert Younge of Tylus, co. Berks, yeoman, and Anne his wife, Edward Tooth of Drayton, co. Middlesex, fisherman, and Alice his wife, of the first part, Thomas Smith of Gt. Marlowe, laceman, and Mary his wife of the second part, and William Harman the younger, of Gt. Marlowe, gardener, Thomas Wiggenton of the same, bargeman, and Katherine his wife, and John Bovington of the same, yeoman, of the third part. A fine was to be levied of a messuage in Gt. Marlowe, occupied by Daniel Wright, apothecary, 2 messuages in Deane Lane there, and 5 acres in the common fields of Gt. Marlowe, to the following uses:—the messuage occupied by Wright, purchased by the said Smith of said Mary Bovington, to the use of the said Smith and his heirs; one of the messuages in Deane Lane, purchased by the said Harman of the said Hayward, to the use of Harman and his heirs; the other messuage in Deane Lane, purchased by the said Wiggenton of the said Elliott, to the use of Wiggenton and his wife and their heirs; the 5 acres of land purchased by John Bovington of Rob. Younge and Edward Tooth, to the use of Bovington and his heirs. Signed by the parties of first and second parts.

1673, January 20.—Draft covenant to levy a Fine, between John Richards, Citizen and Turner of London, and Barbara his wife, one of the daughters of Samuel Snow, late Citizen and Baker of London, deceased, of the first part, John Eaton of Redrith, co. Surrey, mariner, and Elizabeth his wife, another daughter of the said Snow of the 2nd part, and Thomas Jenney, Citizen & Baker of London, and Thomas Fox, Citizen and Weaver of London, of the 3rd part. A fine was to be levied of certain messuages, cottages, gardens, &c., in the parish of St. Buttolph without Aldersgate, co. Middlesex, then late occupied by Thomas Griffen, fronting to Goswell St. on the west, and in part to lands of — Littleton, esq., and in part to lands of John Snow on the west, and adjoining to Fanne Alley, on the south, and in part to an Inn called The Three Horseshoes and to lands of the said — Littleton on the north, by the name of 12 messuages, 12 cottages and 6 gardens: To the use, as regards one moiety, to said Richards & wife for 99 years, if they should so long live, remainder in trust to preserve contingent remainders, remainder in tail male of the said John and Barbara, remainder in tail female of the said John and Barbara, remainder to the heirs of the body of Barbara, remainder to the said Elizabeth and the heirs of her body, remainder to the said John and Barbara and their heirs: the other moiety to the use of the said Eaton and his wife for 99 years, if they should so long live, remainder in trust to preserve contingent remainders, remainder in tail male of the said John and Elizabeth, remainder

NOTES AND QUERIES.

in tail female of the same, remainder to the heirs of the body of Elizabeth, remainder to the said Barbara and the heirs of her body, remainder to the said John and Elizabeth and their heirs.

[To be continued.]

OPEN-AIR STATUES IN LONDON.—In Mr. T. W. Hill's interesting article there does not appear to be any mention of the statue of Sir Thomas More, at the corner of Carey Street and Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn. The statue is placed in a niche over the entrance to what is now Messrs. Lyons' restaurant. Beneath the figure is the following inscription:

SIR THOMAS MORE, K^T
SOME TIME
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR
OF ENGLAND
MARTYRED JULY 6TH 1535
THE FAITHFUL SERVANT
BOTH OF GOD AND THE KING

On one side are the arms and crest of More; on the other, three lions rampant, with a crest which may be a leopard or a cat sejant guardant. Perhaps some reader with a knowledge of heraldry can explain the connection of this shield with More. The position of the statue is very appropriate, being opposite the Courts of Justice and close to the Inn to which More belonged.—C. M. PHILLIPS.

STOKE NEWINGTON PARISH REGISTER.—The work of transcribing and indexing the Register of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Stoke Newington, covering the years 1559-1812, has been recently carried out by Mr. Frank W. Baxter. A copy, consisting of three volumes of Transcripts and three volumes of Indexes, has been presented to the Stoke Newington Public Library for public use. In addition to these, Mr. Baxter has prepared and presented to the Library a transcript of the inscriptions on the tombs, monuments, and stones in the Church and Churchyard, with key plan and index. The Library also possess the collection of books, prints and portraits, and also the genealogical papers relating to the Romford and Barking district of Essex, bequeathed by the late Mr. Edward J. Sage. The arrangement of these papers is now being carried out, and it is hoped that they will be available for public use at an early date.—GEORGE PREECE, Librarian.

PYKE AND DAY FAMILIES.—Let me submit copies of two unpublished marriage licences obtained from the Vicar-General's Office, London:

"27th August, 1755. John Pyke of the parish of St. Mary, Magdalen, Milk Street, London, a widower, and Isabella Price of the parish of Saint Olave, Southwark, in the County of Surrey, a spinster, of the age of twenty-six years. To marry in the parish church of Saint Olave, Southwark."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

"28th February, 1746. William Pyke of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the county of Middlesex, aged twenty-five years and a Bachelor, and Sarah Day, of the same parish, a Widow. To marry in the parish church of Saint Bennet near Paul's Wharfe, London."

Was the above-named Isabella Price any relation to Henry Price, son-in-law of Dr. Edmond Halley, the second Astronomer-Royal? What was the maiden name of Mrs. Sarah Day, widow? Was it STUART? Evidence has already been published of other connections between the Day, Halley, and Pyke families.—EUGENE F. McPIKE, 1, Park Row, Chicago, U.S.A.

REVIEWS.

MEMORIALS OF OLD SURREY, edited by the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. George Allen and Sons; pp. xv, 299; 15s. net.

A collection of thirteen articles, of varying interest and merit. The three articles to which we should give pre-eminence are those by Dr. Fairbank on Brasses, by Mr. Aymer Vallance on Roods, Screens, and Lofts, and by Mr. P. M. Johnston on Wall Paintings; the two latter are arranged alphabetically under parishes, which is a great convenience. Each of these papers is a sound and useful addition to the topography of the county, well written and well illustrated. Without venturing in any way to "place" the remaining articles, we may mention first Mr. Tavenor-Perry's descriptive account of the royal residences in the county, with some very pleasing pen-and-ink drawings by the author. The remaining general articles are Mr. Malden's on Historic Surrey (good of its kind, but such sketches always strike us as rather futile), Mr. Clinch's on Surrey before the Norman Conquest (a useful survey of "finds" from the palaeolithic to the Saxon period, with an unfortunate misprint of *bronze* for *iron* on p. 19), Dr. Cox's on the Forests (interesting and readable), and Mr. Malden's on Post-Reformation Foundations. This last is a subject too often neglected, and Mr. Malden has done good service in collecting these notes. Turning to the papers on special subjects, Dr. Fairbank deals with Bermondsey Abbey, and Dr. Cox with Chertsey and Waverley Abbeys, all three articles rather suffering from over-condensation. Mr. Kershaw writes of Lambeth Palace, with which he was so long connected as Librarian; his excellent account is hardly improved by the use of some ancient wood-blocks for illustrations. The two concluding articles, on Hindhead Gibbet by Dr. Cox, and on Fanny Burney in Surrey by Mr. Kershaw, are poor trifling scissors-and-paste sort of stuff, quite out of keeping with the rest of the volume.

OLD COUNTRY INNS, by Henry P. Maskell and Edward W. Gregory, with illustrations by the authors. Pitman and Sons; pp. vi, 294; 7s. 6d. net.

An interesting and amusing book, full of anecdote and quotation, and pleasantly written. The subject is treated of from every conceivable point of view, even modern inns and cafés are not neglected, and there is a very sensible chapter on public-house reform. A good many statements will not commend themselves to serious antiquaries, and most of the illustrations seem to have suffered from over-reduction.

REVIEWS.

A HISTORY OF COLFE'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT LEWISHAM, with a Life of its Founder. By Leland L. Duncan, M.V.O., F.S.A. Printed for the Worshipful Company of Leathersellers of the City of London; pp. xi, 239.

When the Rev. Abraham Colfe, vicar of Lewisham, founded his Grammar School he made the Leathersellers' Company the Governors, a wise provision; for it is hardly too much to say that the school owes its continued existence to the Company. But for that powerful and liberal body behind it, the school would have been absorbed by the Charity Commissioners on more than one occasion; the Company erected new buildings in 1890 at a cost of £20,000; and now they have enabled Mr. Duncan to issue his history in the present handsome volume. A seventeenth-century school cannot be expected to have the historical interest of older foundations, and the annals of Colfe's school are for the most part quiet and uneventful. The sketch of Colfe's life, however, affords a good picture of his period, and the story of his exertions in saving Sydenham Common from the greed of James I's courtiers was well worth the telling. Mr. Duncan has spared no pains in hunting out material, which is well arranged and carefully edited. We can heartily congratulate the Leathersellers' Company, the school, and the author on the result. The arms attributed to the family (gold, a fesse between three colts sable), which are shown on the monument to the founder's grandfather at Holy Cross Church, Canterbury, are surely based on a painter's error. The name Colfe is frequently spelled Calfe, and occasionally Caulfe and Corfe; surely the charges on the shield should be *calves*, not *colts*.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, by John E. Morris, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.Soc., and Humfrey Jordan, B.A. George Routledge and Sons; pp. xvi, 399; 64 illustrations; 4s. 6d. net.

Dr. Morris's preface, full of strong common sense, led us to expect a sound and scholarly work, and we are not disappointed. The book is a marvel of conciseness and accuracy, and the amount of information contained in it is simply prodigious. This remark applies equally to Mr. Jordan's chapters, those on monasteries, industries, domestic architecture, and coaching. The work will form a very useful reference book even to a skilled antiquary (not *antiquarians*, please), and will, we feel sure, be welcomed by the intelligent school-boy as a pleasing contrast to the usual inane "gift-book." Among other good points we are glad to see Dr. Morris driving another nail into the coffin of that pestilent theory that place-names in *ing-ham*, *ing-ton*, and the like, are evidence of the village community. We are inexpressibly shocked to find that a Doctor of Literature of Oxford uses "aggravating" as synonymous with "annoying"!

A HISTORY OF A BEDFORDSHIRE FAMILY, being a History of the Crawleys of Nether Crawley, Stockwood, Thurleigh, and Yelden in the County of Bedford, by William Austin. Alston Rivers; pp. xii, 326; 7s. 6d. net.

All honest genealogy is interesting and valuable, particularly so when, as in this case, the gradual rise of a family is traced from the relatively humble position of yeomen or tenant-farmers to a recognized place among the county gentry. The Crawleys have had the good fortune to discover a hoard of ancient documents, long forgotten, and with the help of these Mr. Austin is enabled to start his pedigree with a man who must have been born early in the fifteenth century. We imagine that with some searching at the Record Office it should not be very difficult to take the

REVIEWS.

family further back. The descendants of this first William Crawley seem to have prospered, bought manors and other properties, and to have branched off into several flourishing lines. Perhaps the most interesting member of the family was Sir Francis Crawley, Judge of the Common Pleas in 1632; the photogravure portrait shows him to have been a singularly handsome man. He was impeached by the House of Commons in 1641 for favouring the levy of Ship-money. Mr. Austin is to be congratulated on his very readable book.

THE CATUVELLAUNI, a powerful British tribe in the district now known as Middlesex, by Montagu Sharpe, D.L. Brentford Printing and Publishing Co.; pp. 16; 6d. net.

We always welcome a further instalment of Mr. Sharpe's *Antiquities of Middlesex*, for we are sure of getting a carefully reasoned judgement, and a list of authorities on which his conclusions are based. We have here an account of one of the best known of the British tribes, with a list of their known kings, and a description of their appearance, methods of warfare, dwellings, arts, coinage, agriculture, and trade. Mr. Sharpe also gives an interesting sketch of Druidism, but we venture to think that neither the accounts of classical historians, nor the practices and legends of medieval Welsh bards (the two main sources of information) are quite trustworthy; the one imports his own ideas into the manners and customs of a semi-civilized race, while the other carries his later developed theories and practices a thousand years backwards. For these reasons we think that most descriptions of the Druids and their doings, including Mr. Sharpe's, should be received with great caution.

A SHORT MASONIC HISTORY, with some Account of the Higher Degrees, by Frederick Armitage; Vol. II. Weare and Co.; pp. 176; 4s. 6d. net.

The author, having dealt with the suppositious origin of Freemasonry in his previous volume, now gives us the history of the craft from its revival. It is a curious and fascinating story. What was it that led to the remarkable multiplication of these societies all over Europe? In England, Scotland, France, and Germany, more especially, "degrees" and "orders" sprang up like mushrooms, and many of them had as short a life. It certainly was not love of science or philanthropy; many of the lodges seem to have been of a political character, generally "opposition" politics; but in a large number of them the main object seems to have been social, combined with a love of harmless mysticism and "dressing up." Mr. Armitage's book is well and carefully written, contains much curious information, and will interest all students of sociology, whether members of the craft or not.

THE GARDENS OF GRAY'S INN, and other Verses, by Christian Tearle. Longmans; pp. 82; 5s. net.

Mr. Tearle's muse has a fine versatility, both in metre and subject. His Cavalier poems are particularly good; "Hey ho, Prince Rupert" has the real lilt of the period, and we can imagine a troop of reckless horsemen singing it as they galloped. We like the three legal items, "The Gardens of Gray's Inn," "The Ghosts of Lincoln's Inn," and "Poor Little Houses of Chancery," with their topical allusions. The pathetic pieces are written with much charm and feeling, and "Little Red Riding Hood" is a gem for children.

1642



The Manor House, Chenies, and Queen Elizabeth's Oak. (See p. 235.)

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON. HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

BY J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL, author of *The Story of Charing Cross*.

CHAPTER I

THERE are very few hay-markets in London that survive the piping times when Middlesex was so famous for its hay that a native of the county was known as a "hay digger."¹ It would in fact be unnecessary to possess a hand with five fingers to count them upon, one being at Whitechapel, another at Smithfield, until of late years the Portman Market in Marylebone, and the Cumberland, at Regent's Park.² It was in the year 1830 that the Cumberland or Regent's Park Market relieved the old hay-market in St. James's of its commerce, pursuant to an act of 11 George IV, cap. 14. It was also proposed in the early part of the year 1906 to convert a portion of the Cumberland hay-market to the public use as a garden or playground for children, but the Paddington Borough Council, owing to certain market rights, found the project impracticable.

Although the Elizabethan surveyor and engraver, Ralph Aggas, by his plan of the village of Charing, first drawn on wood about the year 1560, shows that the Haymarket was even, at that period, known by the same name, yet the civilized beginnings of the old and better ordered market are first recorded by Evelyn, who, in his Diary of 31 July, 1662, notes that he "sat with the Commissioners about reforming buildings and streets of London, and we ordered the paving of the way from St. James's North, *which was a quagmire*, and also of the Hay-market about Piquidillo, and agreed upon instructions to be printed and published for the better keeping the streets clean." Until the year 1692, the Haymarket was a common highway, where carts of hay and straw stood toll-

¹ An old Putney inhabitant, who, if I remember correctly, had been in his young days a farm-hand, told me that he knew Middlesex men being spoken of as "hay-diggers"; Dorsetshire men as "gobblers"; Herefordshire as "broadhorns"; Hertfordshire as "hedgehogs"; Northamptonshire as "snobs" (*i.e.*, shoemakers); Nottinghamshire as "rams"; Rutlandshire as Rutland gaol, or white hare; Lincolnshire as "yellow-bellies" (*fen frogs?*); and Buckinghamshire as "bull-dogs."

² Another hay-market was in Westminster Broadway (1730).

THE HAYMARKET.

free. But in that year the street was paved, and, by the act of Parliament then made, a toll of 6*d.* or 2*d.* was laid upon all carts of hay and straw that came to the market. This act seems to have expired shortly afterwards, for in a petition to the House of Commons in 1696, it is complained that the act is "since expired, and such Carts have ever since stood Toll-free." Further petitions secured the royal assent in 1697 (9 William III) to an act for paving and regulating the hay-market, in the parishes of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and St. James's within the Liberty of Westminster.¹

The market was not at first established for the sale of hay, for Sir Nathaniel Curzon, and John Kent, esq., represented to the House of Commons in 1699 that Charles II, in the fifteenth year of his reign, granted to John Harvey and John Coell, esqrs., and their heirs, two markets to be held on Mondays and Wednesdays, in the hay-market, for buying and selling of cattle and sheep; that James II afterwards granted those markets might be held on Tuesdays and Thursdays weekly for ever, in Great Brook-field, in the same parish; the freehold and inheritance of which markets were, for a valuable consideration, vested in the petitioners, who quietly enjoyed the same till the City of London suggested that Edward III granted a charter, in the first year of his reign, that no market should thenceforth be granted *infra septem lucas* (? *leucas*) *in circuitu civitatis praedictae*, "and brought a *scire facias* to revoke the said grants of King Charles and King James. That the suppression of the said markets will not only be a damage to the petitioners, who have been at great charges in building, paving, and making other preparations for the same, but also a very great inconvenience to the inhabitants near the said market: and praying the House to take into their consideration their case, and relieve them therein."²

The act of 8 and 9 William III, cap. 17 (1697), declares that the hay-market "shall be construed to extend in length from the old Toll Post at the upper end of the Haymarket, over against a house lately called Coventry House, to the Phoenix Inn at the lower end of the said Haymarket, and the house over against it, and the breadth from the kennel, running by the houses on the east side to the kennel running by the houses on the west side." By this act the hay-market was paved, each cart-load of hay contributing 3*d.* and each cart-

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. ix (1696), pp. 698 and 765.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xiii (1699), p. 130.

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

load of straw *id.* to the general expense.¹ The toll-gatherer rang a hand-bell about the market-place twice a day on every market-day, that is on every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, "at One Hour's distance," to give notice of the time of ending the market according to the statute of 2 William and Mary, cap. 8, and in default of such ringing, persons selling hay or straw were allowed the following market-day to stand and sell toll-free.²

One advisedly speaks of the Haymarket as being situated "at Charing Cross," for this was of old the customary way of alluding to places in the immediate neighbourhood of that historic spot. It was in the vicinity of the market, perhaps in the market itself, that Sir John Suckling, the poet, saw a gay wedding procession issue from a house, the situation of which he thus allocates. Perhaps he had only just strolled from his residence in St. Martin's Lane, where he was living in 1641, when he chanced upon the joyous company.

At Charing Cross, hard by the way,
Where we (thou know'st) do sell our hay,
And there did I see coming down
Such folks as are not in our town,
Vorty, at least, in pairs.

And then comes his exquisitely pretty description of the bride, which includes the lines:

Her feet beneath her petticoat,
Like little mice stole in and out,
As if they fear'd the light:
But oh! she dances such a way!
No sun upon an Easter Day
Is half so fine a sight.

With regard to his describing places as being "at Charing Cross" which we should now consider to be some distance therefrom, the "Heathcock Tavern" in the Strand, the site of which is now indicated by Heathcock Court, is an instance; and the situation of this "show" tavern was so described in contemporary hand-bill and news-sheet.

While Irishwomen were largely engaged in the market-gardens round London, Welshwomen were employed principally, at all events at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in maimaking.³ During the summer and beginning of autumn, a

¹ Wheatley, *London*, 1891, vol. i, p. 198.

² 8 and 9 William III, cap. 17, s. 5.

³ Dr. James Dugdale, *British Traveller*, 1819, vol. iii, p. 470.

THE HAYMARKET.

large number of women, chiefly from North Wales, were so employed, at that time. But at the time of the removal of the St. James's hay-market to Regent's Park in the year 1830, the industry appears to have been almost entirely in the hands of Irishmen, who are a far more hardworking race than they are sometimes allowed to be. But if the sun did not shine at haymaking time there was trouble—in Middlesex. "Make hay while the sun shines" is a proverb which will not be found in such frequent use in Latin as in Celtic and Teutonic countries. The Danes say "Man skal bruge den Sol som nu skinner"; and the Germans "Warme dich weil das feuer brennt," and so the poor Irishman who migrated to this country for the hay season often suffered the greatest distress. In the summer of 1830, through prolonged adverse weather, they endured cruel privations with a patience and fortitude which, in spite of racial feeling at that time, brought subscriptions liberally forward at the hands of the Sassenach towards their relief. Not, however, before shocking deaths were recorded. In the neighbourhood of Acton two poor fellows were found dead in a ditch—two more were found at Willesden, having also succumbed to starvation, and a fifth was found dead somewhere about Hampstead. Upon opening the bodies of the dead, no sustenance whatever was found in their stomachs, excepting some sorrel, upon which plant the victims had subsisted until death put a period to their sufferings.¹

Later this state of things culminated in a dreadful riot among 2,000 Irish labourers at Barnet. For some unexplained reason, when the hay-making was resumed, they resented the sudden cutting short of the supply of bread which had been maintained by a few of the more wealthy inhabitants. With the cry of "bread or blood" on their lips they broke into the bakers' shops, scattered the property, and threatened the owners. There, however, appears to have been a pre-existing bad feeling between the country people and the immigrants.²

One has heard frequently, from aged people, of the Irishwomen trooping in single file from Fulham to Covent Garden with baskets of market-produce on their heads, and there is an erection, still standing in Piccadilly, upon which they and other porters used to rest their burdens, but it is doubtful whether any living person remembers the sturdy Welshwomen labouring to the Middlesex hayfields by the "marrow-bone stage."

¹ *The Times*, 18, 22 June, 1830.

² *Ibid.*, 24 June, 1830.

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

Harrow, Hendon, and Finchley, where there were hay-barns capable of holding from thirty to fifty, and sometimes a hundred, loads of hay, seem to have been the principal hay producing parts north of London. Corn and barley, but little rye and oats, were cultivated, although the "green" and root crops for the cattle were beans, peas, turnips, cabbages, white and red clovers, ray-grass cut green, and tares with barley and oats intermixed. For the use of the Londoner were produced turnips, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, green peas, beans. Dr. Johnson assigned oats to horses in England, and to men in Scotland, and where in his time were horse or man finer? But the Middlesex farmer cultivated beans *for horses*, "*though great quantities are shipped for Africa and the West Indies, as diet for the Negro Slaves.*" The better sorts of beans were podded when green and sent to the London markets.¹ This rotation of crops left ample room for grass-lands, and of the grass-lands the cattle, "neat" and small, pastured upon what was left when the innumerable London horses were provided for by the hay crops. This great number of horses provided vast quantities of manure which kept the country soil in a highly productive state. The necessities created by the coaching traffic, to say nothing of the packhorse mode of travelling, when the principal means of travel on land was on horseback, must have brought enormous quantities of hay to London.

It would be interesting to note the appreciable decline of hay consumption in London in connection with the growing motor traffic, but so late as the year 1856, upwards of 4,000 loads of hay and straw were consumed weekly in the metropolis. Amidst this great traffic there were ample opportunities for the swindler, whose gentle art somewhat discounts any poetic conception we may be disposed to form of the arcadian simplicity of the Middlesex farmer—that is, if one may judge from paragraphs like the following:

A Salesman of hay and straw at the Haymarket, St. James's, was convicted in the full penalty of 5*l.* per truss, for selling 16 trusses of hay, short of weight, and nine of bad quality in the inside. This penalty in reality falls upon the Farmer who sent the hay to market.²

The act to prevent abuses in the hay and straw trade came

¹ *View of the Agriculture of Middlesex*, by John Middleton, 2nd ed., p. 246.

² *Evening Mail*, 17-19 September, 1800. Threepence per load was demanded of the hay-carters for the privilege of standing for the sale of

THE HAYMARKET.

into operation in July, 1856. Its main object was to put an end to the long continued and fraudulent practice of mixing water, sand, earth, etc., in hay and straw (in the centre of the trusses). The act (19 and 20 Victoria) made all parties liable, and enjoined upon the salesmen, under a penalty of £10, to send a ticket with every load of hay and straw containing the Christian name, surname, and address of the *owner*. So that there was no difficulty in getting at and punishing the real offender. It also empowered the clerk of every hay-market to examine all hay and straw offered or exposed for sale at any market in case of complaint being made, and to enforce the law, thus saving the buyer the trouble of prosecuting. And as all the penalties went to the party who prosecuted, the clerk was compensated for his trouble.

Upon the abolition of the hay-market, or some little time after, the inhabitants, as I was informed by one of the oldest, petitioned for the establishing of a cab-stand in the centre of the street where formerly the hay-wains rested. This cab-stand, however, soon, after the manner of the street itself, gained an evil reputation. It was in fact known as the "thieves' rank" owing to the "night" cabmen or "bucks" here located, constantly being known to pick up drunken "swells," or "nobs" as they were called, with the deliberate end of robbery in view. Consequently this rank was avoided by those who retained enough sense to foresee the peril which they would thus be courting, especially as there was a trusty person at Hyde Park Corner, to wit, "Thirsty Joe," who was a waterman, *i.e.*, a horse-waterer, who was a terror to such cabmen on account of his pugilistic talents.

CHAPTER II

MESSRS. RANSOM, BOUVERIE AND CO.'S bank at the south-east corner of the Haymarket is said, perhaps erroneously,

their hay in the market, which was devoted to the repairing of the street. And they were not allowed to stand loaded with hay after three o'clock in the afternoon, etc., on pain of forfeiting 5s. Hay sold in London, etc., between the first of June and the last of August, being new hay, was to weigh sixty pounds a truss; and old hay, during the remainder of the year, fifty-six pounds, under the penalty of 2s. 6d. for every truss offered for sale (2 William and Mary, cap. 6; 8 and 9 William, cap. 4; and 31 George II, cap. 40).

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

to occupy the site of the Prince of Orange Coffee-house,¹ a noteworthy eighteenth-century resort whose sign probably commemorated the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Orange and the Princess Royal, which took place amidst great rejoicings in March, 1734. This coffee-house is associated, by a remarkable incident, with the establishment in 1738 of the beneficent Society of Musicians. An eminent oboe-player named Kytch, having come to England from Germany, resolved, in accordance with Teutonic precedent, to stay here. His talent gained for him considerable celebrity; engagements to play at private parties poured in upon him, and for a time his career was a prosperous one. But, unhappily, he neglected the opportunities which presented themselves to him, and after he had led for a time a miserable existence, he was found dead one morning in St. James's market, then a butchers' shambles with stalls for country dealers. Shortly after this tragic termination of a promising career, Festing, the famous violinist, Wiedemann, who gave lessons on the flute to George III, and Vincent, the oboe-player, were standing at the door of the Orange Coffee-house in the Haymarket, when they saw two remarkable-looking lads driving milch asses. The interesting appearance of the boys caused the musicians to make inquiries as to who they were, when, to the astonishment of the inquirers, it transpired that they were the orphans of the unhappy Kytch.

Struck with grief and mortification by the unfortunate lot of a brother professor's children, Festing promptly raised a subscription for the benefit of the lads, and we are told that it was he to whom, with Dr. Morrice Greene, the credit is due of being the first institutor of the fund for the support of decayed musicians.² And on 19 April, 1738, was established the Society of Musicians, to give relief to indigent members of the profession, and their widows and orphans.

¹ In the *Picture of London* for 1803 it is described as being *at the corner of Cockspur Street and the Haymarket*; and in the same valuable little directory for 1818, as "*at the corner of Cockspur Street and near the Haymarket.*" From this it may be surmised to have occupied the site of Messrs. Dent, the watchmakers', premises.

² *Dictionary of Musicians*, 1827; but Mr. Stanley Lucas says in the *Strand Musical Magazine*, July, 1895, p. 86, that the founders were Festing, Wiedemann, and Vincent, who were *standing at the door* of the coffee-house, while in the *Dictionary of Musicians* we are told that Festing was *seated at the window* of the coffee-house when he observed "a very intelligent-looking boy, driving an ass and selling brickdust," and that it was with the assistance of Dr. Morrice Greene that the beginnings of the society took shape.

THE HAYMARKET.

The newspaper of the eighteenth century became a favourite means of inter-communication in affairs of the heart, and especially was this the case with the *General Advertiser*, where in the following instance some love-lorn Lothario found the "Prince of Orange" a useful halfway-house to the object of his solicitude:

A Tall, well fashion'd, handsome young woman, about eighteen, with a fine bloom in her countenance, a cast in one of her eyes, scarcely discernible; a well-turned nose, and dark-brown uncurled hair flowing about her neck, which seemed to be newly cut [*sic*], walked last new year's day about three o'clock in the afternoon, pretty fast through Long Acre, and near the turn into Drury Lane met a young gentleman wrapp'd up in a blue roccelo cloak, whom she look'd at very steadfastly: He believes he had formerly the pleasure of her acquaintance: If she will send a line directed to H. S. Esq. to be left at the bar of the Prince of Orange Coffee-house, the corner of Pall Mall, intimating where she may be spoke with, she will be inform'd of something greatly to her advantage. She walked in a dark coloured undressed gown, black hat and capuchin; a low middle aged woman plainly dressed, and a footman following close behind, seemed to attend her.

Coolly supping at the Orange Coffee-house, watching the progress of the flames on 17 June, was an Italian, who was generally suspected of having set fire to the Haymarket Theatre. He had been in the employ of Gallini, with whom he had had some disagreement.¹

Among the frequenters of the Orange Coffee-house was Mr. Cervetto, the violoncello performer, who died at Mr. Friburg's snuff-shop in the Haymarket, and of whom an anecdote is told.

The Orange Coffee-house was the chosen resort of foreigners of all sorts, and, if (says Mr. Austin Dobson) we may trust a sketch by Rowlandson, of the gentlemen of the army and navy also. To the Orange Coffee-house under cover to an imaginary "Mr. Grafton," Thomas Lowndes, the Fleet Street publisher, forwarded in 1778 the proofs of Fanny Burney's *Evelina*.²

The famous draught-player, Parry, resided on the eastern

¹ Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, vol. i, p. 316.

² *Early Diary*, 1889, vol. ii, p. 214, quoted by Mr. Dobson in his *Paladin of Philanthropy*, 1899, p. 83.

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

side of the Haymarket, within a door of the Orange Coffee-house. He was a Welsh harper, and was much noticed by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, who was unfortunately killed by a fall from his horse. Although Parry was totally blind he was acknowledged to be one of the best draught-players in England, and occasionally played with the frequenters of Old Slaughter's in St. Martin's Lane. The "Barn" or "Barn-Meuse" was, however, the principal resort of draught-players. When Nathaniel Smith, the engraver, father of J. T. Smith, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, lodged with Roubiliac, the sculptor, in St. Martin's Lane, Smith was introduced by Roubiliac to Parry in consequence of a bet made at Old Slaughter's. A game of draughts ensued which lasted about half an hour. But Smith, who was winning, perceiving the venerable blind man to be much agitated, would most willingly have lost the game had there not been bets depending on it, so that his integrity overpowered his inclination and he won.¹

The well-known West-end banking firm, Messrs. Ransom, Bouverie and Co., although now situated at the corner of the Haymarket and No. 1, Pall Mall East, was founded at No. 57, Pall Mall, about the year 1786, by Mr. Ransom, who took into partnership Sir F. B. Morland and Mr. Hammersley, under the style of Ransom, Morland and Hammersley. This continued to be the style of the firm until 1796, when Mr. Hammersley left them to start a new bank, which he set up at 76, Pall Mall. In 1819 Sir F. B. Morland left the firm to establish a bank of his own under the style of Morland and Co. In the following year the directory shows that Ransom and Co. moved to No. 34, Pall Mall; in 1821 to 25, Pall Mall; and in 1823 to No. 1, at which the house is still located.

Addison wrote his *Campaign* while living in the Haymarket. The Government of the day wanted a poem to be written on the Battle of Blenheim, and Halifax mentioned Addison, as one fitted to write it, to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, who sent Henry Boyle, afterwards Lord Carleton, to him. Addison was then living in an attic over a small shop in this street. Afterwards, says Mr. Wheatley, Pope, filled with enthusiasm, took Walter Harte to see the room.

No. 1 Haymarket was a well-known rendezvous for book-lovers. One of Thomas Payne's successors at the Mews Gate,

¹ *Nollekens and his Times*, by J. T. Smith.

THE HAYMARKET.

after Sancho the black, Ignatius Sancho's son, was Mr. James Bain, who afterwards removed to No. 1, Haymarket, where his business, says Mr. Austin Dobson, is still carried on, in accordance with the best bookselling traditions by his sons.¹

At the back of Messrs. Tooth and Sons' premises, Nos. 5 and 6, Haymarket, were those of Henry Robert Morland, artist and picture dealer, and father of the famous George Morland, the painter. He was the eldest son, and was born here on 26 June, 1763.

Morland's father, probably unjustly, is accused of stimulating his son's talents unduly, with a view to his own profit, shutting the child up in a garret to make drawings from pictures and casts, for which he found a ready sale. The boy, on the other hand, soon found a way to make money for himself by hiding some of his drawings, and lowering them at nightfall out of his window to young accomplices, with whom he used to spend the proceeds in frolic and self-indulgence. It has also been asserted that his father, discovering this trick, tried to conciliate him by indulgence, humouring his whims and encouraging his low tastes. The truth seems to be that his father, if severe, was neither mercenary nor unprincipled, but tried to do his duty towards his son, who was also his apprentice, and that the son, possessed of unusual carelessness of disposition and love of pleasure, rebelled against all restraint, and developed early a taste for dissipation and low society which became ungovernable.²

Whether Messrs. Arthur Tooth and Sons' premises occupy the site of what is described in 1742 as a "Great Room" and a "New Room at Raphael's Head in the Haymarket," one cannot say; but a Mr. Ford seems to have been a famous picture-auctioneer at this address. This is his announcement:

To be Sold by AUCTION

By Mr. FORD

At his New Room at RAPHAEL'S HEAD, in the Hay-Market,

This Day, the 30th instant,

THE late Mons. de PILE'S celebrated Gallery of

Capital Pictures, lately purchas'd, and brought from Paris by

Mr. GEMINIANI

This most valuable Collection of the greatest Masters, as etc., etc.

TITIAN,

SPAGNIOLET,

¹ *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*, 1894, p. 195; since removed to Charles Street, Haymarket.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

JULIO ROMANO,
P. VERONESE,
GUIDO,

N. and G. POUSSIN,
VAN DYCK,
REMBRANDT,

PH. WOVERMANS, and others,

So well known and esteem'd by all the Virtuosi,
Will be submitted to publick View, till the Time of Sale, which
will begin exactly at Half an Hour after Eleven o'Clock.

Catalogues to be had at Mr. FORD'S.¹

Francesco Geminiani was an accomplished musical composer, and writer on music, and a finished performer on the violin. He dabbled disastrously in pictures. Mons. de Pile was the celebrated French painter of that name, and author of *Lives of the Painters*.

Another announcement of Ford's is of some interest:

Mr. FORD begs Leave to acquaint the Ladies, etc.

That this Day and on Monday will be sold by AUCTION,
at his Great Room in the Hay-Market,

THE valuable Collection of old Japan CHINA and CURIOSITIES, consisting of fine large Jars, Bekers, Bowls, etc. several Pieces of the brown Edge, and some beautiful Dresden China; rare old India Japan, in Cabinets, Chests, etc. beautiful inlaid Tables; fashionable Plate, Jewels, Watches, and Snuff-Boxes; rich Silks and Needlework; fine Brussels and Mechlin Laces of the newest Pattern; a Chamber-Organ of an exceeding fine Tone, two Harpsichords, a Chariot, and various other Curiosities,

All which may be view'd each Day before the Sale, which will punctually begin at Half an Hour after Eleven o'Clock.

Catalogues to be had gratis at the Place of Sale.²

Between the Haymarket Theatre and Cockspur Street, opposite to the Opera House, Broughton, the pugilistic "Champion of England," kept a public-house in the reign of George II, the sign of which was that of his own presentment without a wig, as a bruiser. Underneath was the following line from Virgil: *Hic victor caestus artemque repono*. Broughton on the 1st of February, 1747, proposed to open "A Boxing Academy" at his house in the Haymarket, for the instruction of gentlemen, "where the whole theory and practice of that truly British art, with all the various stops, blows, cross-buttocks, etc., incident to combatants, will be fully taught and explained."

¹ *Daily Advertiser*, 30 April, 1742.

² *Ibid.*, 1742.

THE HAYMARKET.

Theophilus Cibber was a great amateur among the boxers, as well as in the business of the playhouse. He was frequently applied to for a vaunting bill, of which the following, for Broughton's theatre, is a specimen:

AT THE NEW THEATRE IN THE HAY-MARKET, ON WEDNESDAY THE 29th of this Instant April.

The beauty of the Science of defence will be shewn in a Trial of Skill, between the following masters, viz:

Whereas there was a battle fought on the 18th of March last, between Mr. JOHNSON, from YORKSHIRE, and Mr. SHERLOCK from IRELAND, in which engagement they came so near as to throw each other down. Since that rough battle, the said SHERLOCK has challenged JOHNSON to fight him, strapt down to the stage, for twenty pounds; to which the said JOHNSON has agreed; and they are to meet at the time and place above mentioned, and fight in the following manner, viz., to have their left feet strapt down to the stage within the reach of each other's right leg; and the most bleeding wounds to decide the wager.

N.B. The undaunted young JAMES, who is thought the bravest of his age in the manly art of boxing, fights the stout-hearted GEORGE GRAY, for ten pounds, who values himself for fighting the famous GLOVER, at TOTTENHAM COURT. Attendance to be given at *ten*, and the masters mount at *twelve*. Cudgel-playing and boxing to divert the gentlemen till the battle begins.

Broughton lived to the age of eighty-five, and died in 1789. He was many years a Yeoman of the Guard.¹

Hack, the Norwich butcher, beat Faulkner the cricket player of Kent (who had before beat Smallwood and others) at Broughton's amphitheatre after a very severe contest of twenty-seven minutes. The odds, before setting out, were three to one on Hack, but during the battle the bets came about two to one on Faulkner. The house was crowded, and the prices so high, that no less than £300 was taken to see these combatants, who fought so long as they could lift their arms.²

[To be continued.]

¹ *The Streets of London*, by J. T. Smith (ed. by Charles Mackay, LL.D.), 1849, vol. i, pp. 22-3.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 13 May, 1752, p. 238.

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

BY E. VAUGHAN.

THE glamour of the past is a sentiment which has its roots deeply seated in human nature. It is easy to look back upon the early days of youth, and, in remembering all their keen enjoyments and eager delights, to forget the black clouds which now and again blotted out the April sunshine of life's spring. And it is good to let the mind dwell upon the brighter side, and recall the radiance of the dawn rather than the subsequent hours of gray sky and cheerless rain, and thus retain as a lasting possession the inheritance of glad memories. Upon the other hand, there is nothing sadder, or more conducive to the embittering of character, than the recollection of a childhood spent amid circumstances of cruel hardships and tyrannical treatment. This is happily seldom the case in the present day, yet if we carry our thoughts back into bygone times, and see what was the lot of children a hundred years ago, the picturesque past loses much of its fascinating charm. It is a material help to the realization of the absolute change which has taken place in our ideas of juvenile education if we can come across a personal description of childish experiences, like the one we are about to consider.

The writer, whose name was Michael Lane, was the son of the Vicar of Sawbridgworth, Hertfordshire, at which place he was born in 1781, entering the school above mentioned when only seven years old, and remaining there until he became a midshipman in the Royal Navy. After a short period he left the service to study law, and, qualifying as a solicitor, settled down in the Essex town of Bocking, where he continued to reside until his death in advanced age. In his latter days, he committed to writing the story of his boyhood, and it is to one of his surviving daughters, a venerable lady in her ninetieth year,¹ that we are indebted for the preservation of this interesting manuscript.

It will be best to retain the exact words as far as possible, and let Michael Lane tell his own tale. He commences with a brief genealogical history and, after stating that his paternal

¹ This lady, Mrs. Livermore, died at Rayne, Essex, February 18, aged ninety.

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

grandfather had been a medical man "residing at Norfolk Street in the Strand, and in good Practice" goes on to say: "he was a lineal descendant of the Colonel Lane (mentioned in Hume's *History of England*) whose sister Jane during the Commonwealth (in 1651) saved Charles 2nd from his Enemies, (who were in hot pursuit after him) by clothing the King in her livery, and riding with him as her Servant on a Pillion . . . from Bently to Bristol." A miniature of Jane Lane is still in the possession of the family. Another ancestor of note was Sir Richard Lane, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Charles I, and a Privy Councillor. "In 1645 . . . he had the Great Seal delivered to him. But at last being by the King appointed one of the Commissioners to treat of the surrender of Oxford, he was forced to fly beyond sea to avoid the resentment of Parliament, and died in France."

Michael's father was the youngest of three sons, and was educated at Charterhouse and Oxford. After taking a good degree at the University, he became ordained, and began his clerical career as Curate of Hammersmith, where his good looks are said to have brought him great popularity among the lady members of the congregation. "By an oil-coloured painting," says his son, "which was taken when he first entered Holy Orders, you will perceive he must have been a very handsome young man." This painting, which now hangs upon the wall in his daughter's house, depicts a cleric of almost juvenile appearance, becomingly dressed in old-fashioned costume, with white hands and a brown wig.

Among his fair admirers at Hammersmith was the daughter of Michael Impey, whose brother, Sir Elijah Impey, figures so conspicuously in Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, and, the attachment being mutual, the couple soon married; although it was "against the consent or at least against the inclination of her parents, they being very proud, and not liking their Daughter to marry a poor Curate." A description of this lady follows:

"She was very pretty and accomplished . . . well versed in History, Astronomy, French, Drawing, and Dancing, and delighted in being in company . . . with men of learning . . . but as to the society of women, it was irksome, their conversation . . . being on frivolous topics. She was descended from the clan of Frasers of Scotland, and Lord Lovat (who was beheaded for rebellion . . . before I was born) was her first cousin."

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

The account of Michael's boyhood begins with his earliest recollections. It seems to have been a rule in the Lane family that, when the children were four weeks old, they were sent out to a foster-mother for the first few years, their own parents taking little notice of them beyond an occasional visit, and the good woman selected for Michael was the wife of the workhouse-keeper. This place was situated just outside the gates of Sawbridgworth churchyard, in close proximity to the Vicarage, and contained the usual assortment of human derelicts: aged people and little children, "ne'er-do-wells," and idiots. It "abounded in old spinning Wheels and rope-making Machines incessantly going from morning till night, being kept by a man called Wharf and his Wife," the latter "a bustling, scolding, thrifty woman, having a numerous family. I was . . . fed well, scrubbed hard, and came in for a share of smacks and scolds with the rest of the Paupers. Yet I loved my Mammy Wharf, and when my natural Mother or Father came to see me, I . . . could not bear the sight of either, but held them in fear and dread, . . . and would try to hide myself in the pig styes." Not only was there the necessary hard scrubbing to be undergone at the hands of Mammy, but generally a whipping as well after the visitors had left, "either because I had been dirty, or I did not sufficiently answer the desire made by her before my Parents of 'Now, Master Michael, dear, show your good behaviours.'"

There was no education within the workhouse; it would have been considered waste of time to teach the inmates to read and write. "They . . . went to Church in procession every Sunday, and some of them by continually hearing the Parson and Clerk say the Belief and Lord's Prayer did get an imperfect version of them into their dull brains."

Now and then a troubled day would come into the child's life, and he always knew what was in store by being "furiously scrubbed, rubbed, spankt, and scolded," as the conscientious woman did her best to make him presentable for the ordeal of visit to the Vicarage. They never went beyond the kitchen, and always returned with lighter hearts to the more congenial companionship of the paupers and the pigs.

When Michael was four years old, the summons came for his permanent removal to his parents' house, and the account of his return, with the description of what a home could be like in those days, make a pitiful story. "Mammy had not ventured to tell me before I went that I wasn't coming back,

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

for she knew well that I should have kicked, and roared, and fought and bitten. . . . We, of course, went in the back way, saw 'Mrs. Lane' in the kitchen, and after some chit-chat between her and my Workhouse-Mammy, I was taken into the nursery, which was furnished with only an oak table, a large Hutch or Chest in which was kept the household linen," and a high iron-barred fender in front of a fireless grate. No chairs were allowed.

Here he was introduced to his elder brother and sister, although at first he quite failed to understand who they were, and so left, the mother turning the key in the lock according to her usual custom. This also Michael was too bewildered to notice, and after a little time, thinking he would go and rejoin his "Mammy," tried to open the door, and then realized the full horror of the situation. In vain the other children, used to being imprisoned for hours together, tried to pacify the unhappy little creature. Imagining that they too were in the plot, he turned on them with blows and maledictions, having become proficient in the art of swearing as taught by the paupers, although a younger sister, who afterwards left the workhouse at the same age, was acknowledged to be the most eloquent of the family in her ready command of that particular form of conversation. The storm ended at last in the utter exhaustion of the child, who was then laid on the hutch, where he slept for two hours, and awoke more resigned to his fate.

The manuscript gives a detailed description of the children's life for the next three years. Among the chief miseries must have been the cold, as apparently the fire was never lit, even in winter, except when their mother came to wash, dress, or undress them, and they were daily locked in for a longer or shorter period, according to the weather. On fine days they were sent into the churchyard to play within given boundaries, but not allowed to go near the gates for fear of a renewal of friendship with the workhouse inmates, whom Michael and his profane little sister loved far better than any one at the Vicarage. If the days were too wet for outdoor play, they were compelled to take exercise by going on their hands and knees, and crawling up and down the front staircase for an hour, punished if they left off, and then locked up again.

The night nursery was the servants' room, where sometimes the children shared the servants' beds; the hour for bed-time being seven o'clock in the summer, and six o'clock in the winter.

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

Breakfast was served to them in the nursery, and consisted of milk "messes," and thick bread and butter, the bread being made from equal quantities of potatoes and coarse flour, with water to drink. The hutch served instead of chairs, and during the meal they were left alone, with the door locked. At the end of an hour, the servant came to clear away, and the mother followed to hear them say their prayers, and teach them hymns, before turning them out into the churchyard. The dinner hour was one o'clock, and at five o'clock they were fed on bread and cheese, with an occasional variety in hot potatoes instead of bread.

Michael's education was undertaken by his father, whose system of imparting knowledge seems to have been based upon the theory that all instructions should be duly and constantly accompanied by beating, as an aid to memory and a quickener of the understanding. Under this mode of tuition, the pupil became naturally stupid and dull, unable to retain what he was taught, and always getting into disgrace, and scolded for obstinacy. The Vicar held strict notions upon Church rule and discipline, and often would place the village children in the middle aisle during morning service, and hear them repeat the catechism after the first lesson. On these occasions, little Michael would be placed on the steps of his father's desk, and expected to join in the answers, the clerical ear having full opportunity of overhearing all blunders, and as such transgressions were always visited with the rod when the dreary performance came at length to its close, it is little wonder that he boy looked back in after life upon catechisms and church services as institutions which had made his small mind revolt, and his heart sicken. Yet under humane treatment he would evidently have made a ready scholar, for he relates that when, after much tribulation, he had mastered the difficulties of reading, a lady residing at Harlow gave him a copy of *Sandford and Merton*, and the old-fashioned book brought a great joy into his dull life. He would push the table under the barred window, and, mounting upon it, "spout" so loudly his favourite passages that passers-by stopped to listen. There was one drawback to the bliss; the study was just underneath the window, and such treats could only be safely indulged in when the paternal feet were heard to pass into the village; the window being too high for him to see the joyful sight of his father's retreating figure. Sometimes, in spite of all precautions, disaster occurred, and the dreaded foe would return

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

unheard, the first intimation of his presence taking the form of a stentorian command for silence from below, and this, if not instantly obeyed, was soon followed by a personal visit to the nursery, and an application of the family birch, which always hung ready for use on a nail over the fireplace.

Besides *Sandford and Merton*, another pleasure which lit up the gloomy atmosphere was the enjoyment of dancing on winter evenings. Mrs. Lane was an expert in this accomplishment, and excelled in the graceful execution of the minuet, and other complicated dances which were popular a century ago. A village carpenter played the quaint old music on his violin, while the children were shown the steps; and, dull though he might be at lessons, Michael easily attained the art of dancing, and could even assist in helping to teach his brothers and sisters.

[To be continued.]

NOTES ON THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX

BY C. W. FORBES, Member of the Essex Archaeological Society.

[Continued from p. 63.]

GREAT STAMBRIDGE.

GREAT STAMBRIDGE doubtless received its name from a stone bridge over the River Roche; it lies two miles north-east of Rochford. In the early registers, 1559, it is styled "Much Stambridge."

The church is of early Norman foundation. The lower portion of the walls on the north side, to a height of about ten feet, are from 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. thick, and belong to the original structure; the tower has remains of Norman lights.

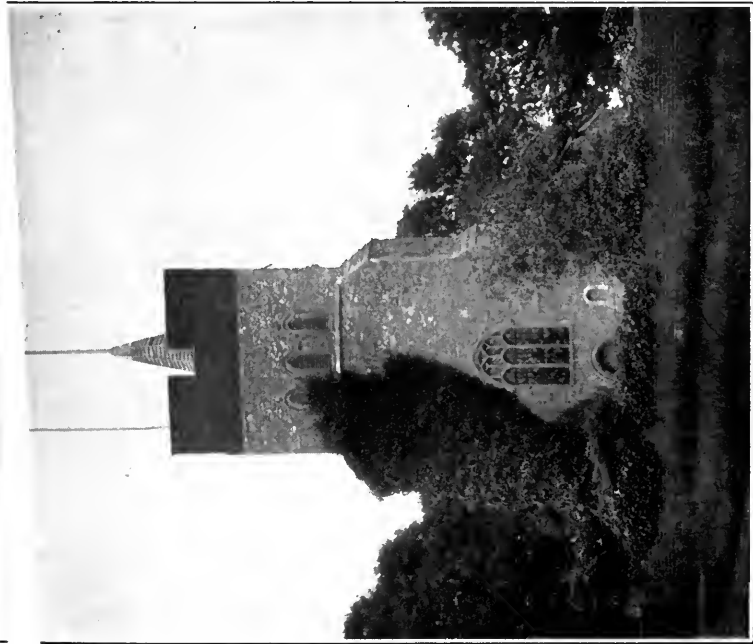
In the latter part of the fourteenth century, the church appears to have been largely rebuilt; this is shown by the windows in the nave and chancel, which are all of this period, with the exception of one square-headed window at the east end of the nave; the lofty arch at the west end, leading into the tower, is also Decorated work.

The building at the present time consists of chancel, nave,



Hawkwell Church.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



Great Stambidge Church.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

south aisle, north porch, and western tower with a low wooden spire, containing one bell; a modern vestry and an organ chamber are built on the north and south sides of the chancel.

The north and west doorways are fourteenth century work; at the south side of the west doorway is a niche for an image. The west window is later work.

Between the nave and south aisle are two octagonal pillars, with moulded capitals. There is now no chancel-arch, but at the sides are stone pillars with moulded capitals. In 1881 a new roof was put on the nave and chancel; it is believed that the chancel-arch was taken down at this time, as the tops of the pillars form supports for the new roof. On the south side is an arched opening, probably the entrance to the rood stairs. At this time also an archway was cut through the south wall of the chancel to give access to the modern organ-chamber, which was built as a continuation of the south aisle; the vestry was also added on the north side of the chancel, the fourteenth century priests' doorway forming the entrance.

In the south wall of the chancel is a Decorated piscina, with a modern basin; the sedilia on this side were formed by lowering the cill of the two-light window above.

The font, situated under the tower, is octagonal, and probably dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century; the sides of the basin have quatrefoils, with emblems or heraldic shields as follows: (1) the side facing north is blank; (2), (4), and (6) have flower emblems, which appear to be roses; (5) the letter M, for the Virgin Mary, to whom the church is dedicated; (7) and (8) have heraldic designs, the families to which they are supposed to relate being uncertain.

HAWKWELL.

Two miles north-west of Rochford, on the road to Rayleigh, is the village of Hawkwell, spelt in ancient documents Hawksell and Hackwell.

The church, which abuts on the main road, is of ancient foundation; the present structure, however, is in the early Perpendicular style, and dates from about the end of the fourteenth century, and there is no trace, so far as one can judge, of any earlier building. It consists of a chancel, nave, south porch, and wooden belfry (containing one bell) surmounted by a tall slender spire, similar to that at Eastwood. The belfry is supported in the interior by crossed timber work; the re-

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

mainder of the building, including the porch, is of stone and rubble.

The east and west windows are pointed, with three lights, of early Perpendicular design; the other windows in the chancel and nave are square-headed, with two lights in each.

In the south wall of the chancel, near the altar, is a square-topped piscina, and on the same side, close to the chancel arch, is a small trefoil low-side window.

The chancel arch is pointed, with but little ornamentation.

The north and south doorways are also pointed; that on the north now leads into a modern vestry.

The font is modern.

WICKFORD.

The town of Wickford probably derives its name from the Saxon, *Wic*, a village, and a ford of the river Crouch; in old documents it is spelt Wiceford, Wygeford, Wikford, Wykeford and even Wincfort.

The church, situated just outside the town on the road to Rayleigh, is of very early foundation. We read in ancient documents that Robert of Essex gave the church at Wickford to the Priory at Prittlewell, and later that Thomas a Becket took it under his charge, as one of those belonging to an alien Priory. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the patronage passed to the Crown; from 1551 to the present time it has been in private hands.

In 1876, the old church, being somewhat dilapidated, was pulled down, and an entirely new building of stone was erected. From a sketch dated 1875 we should judge the structure to have been erected about the middle of the fifteenth century. The only portion of the old church now remaining is the fine oak roof of the chancel; this old oak vaulting is believed to belong to the fourteenth century and to have been at one time in the Priory at Prittlewell. Besides this there is only the plain octagonal font of the same period and the two old bells.

The bells are both pre-Reformation; they are of London make, dating from about 1460. The foundry stamp has the name of Keble, with a reversed crescent below. The first bell bears the inscription, *Sancta Katerina ora pro nobis*, and the second, *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*. The inscriptions are in black-letter, with crowned capitals.

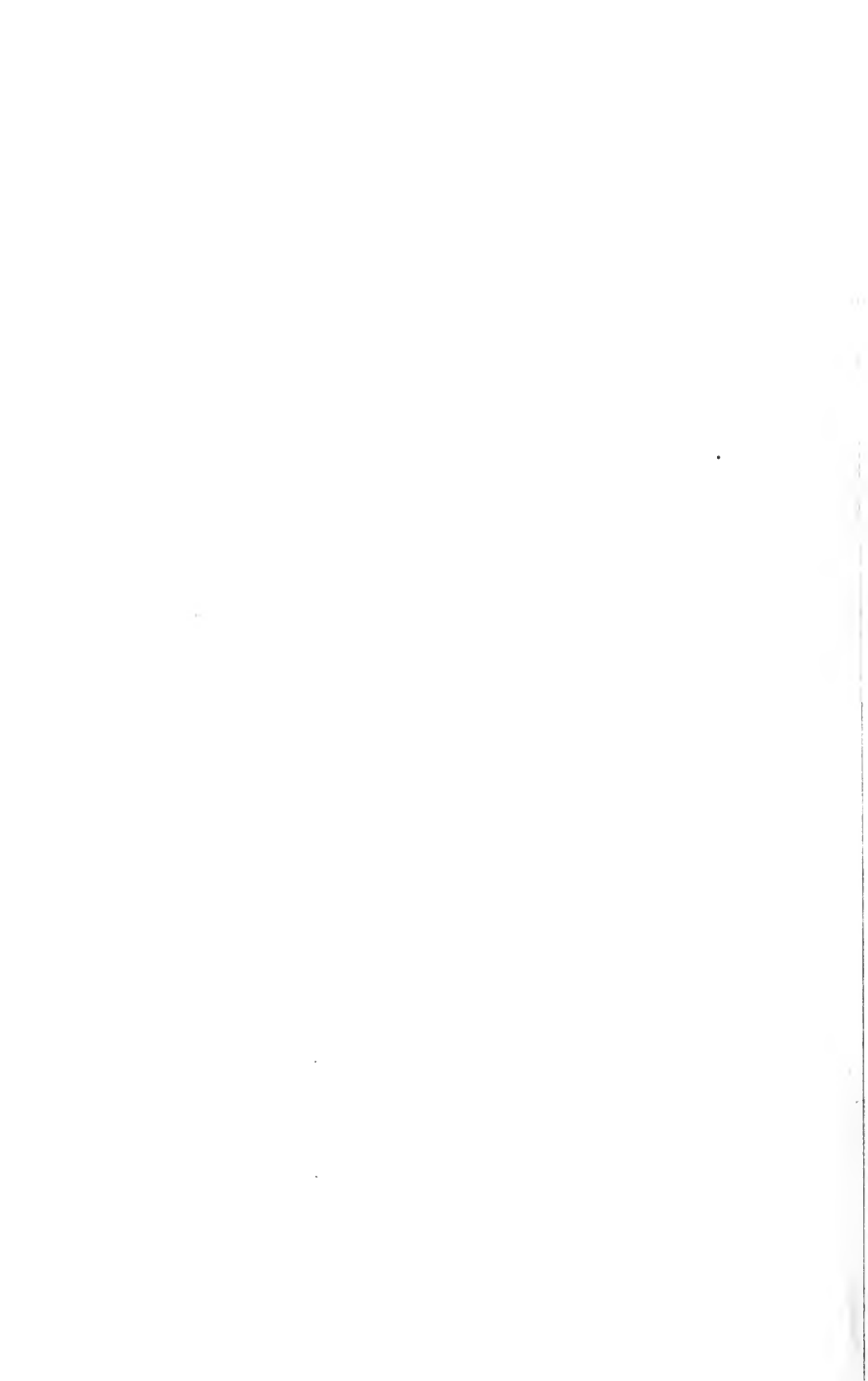
Belonging to the church is an old set of pewter plate, con-



North Benfleet Church.



North Benfleet: The Font.



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

sisting of two flagons, a chalice and paten, and an almsdish; the larger flagon is inscribed, "Wickford in Essex, 1758. John Crouch, Churchwarden"; the paten has "Wickford, A.D. 1817"; the almsdish is believed to date also from 1758.

NORTH BENFLEET.

Two miles south-west of Wickford is the village of North Benfleet. The church has several interesting features, although considerable reconstruction has taken place of late years. It is Early English in design, and dates from the end of the twelfth century; the font, being Norman, it seems probable that there was an earlier Norman church. The present structure consists of a chancel, nave, north porch, and western tower.

There was formerly a wooden belfry, with a spire, which, however, was pulled down in 1905, and the present red-brick tower built; in the interior can still be seen the timbers that supported the old belfry. The tower contains two pre-Reformation bells, with the inscription, *Sancta Katharina ora pro nobis* on each.

When the new tower was built, the north wall and the top portion of the south wall of the chancel were also rebuilt in red brick.

In the nave are eight Early English lancet windows, four on each side.

On the south side of the chancel is a small chamber, with two niche windows on the south side and a single trefoil window on the east side; this was probably added at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

There are two double-light windows of the fourteenth century in the chancel, and the east window is of the same period.

On the south wall of the chancel is a stone pillar with moulded capital of a rare pedestal piscina; beside this are plain narrow sedilia.

The chancel arch is modern, and dates from the restoration of 1905; the north doorway and porch also underwent considerable restoration at this time.

The font is Norman; it consists of a massive square basin, with plain arcading, supported on a central pillar with a smaller pillar at each corner.¹

¹ There are several fonts of this description in neighbouring churches, instance, Aveyale and Laindon.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

Let into the north wall of the nave, opposite the font, is a stone slab with the following inscription:

Interr'd underneath the Table lies the bodys of Susannah & Joseph Hazwell, A.M., her spouse, who was married to her about 20 years, and outlived her widower 20 years more, and was Rector of this parish from June ye first, 1685, to the 17th of Feb., 1732, aged about XC.

By his sole Executor, Residuary Legatee and Successor, Francis Clark, B.M. & LL.D., who in ye year 1723 erected (with his leave) and by Faculty from the Diocesan annex the wainscot Pew adjoining to the Pulpit, to the church Lease of Bonvill Mannou^r for ever.

From tyes of kindred quite remov'd
Mankind alike our Rector lov'd
He underlock't his flock not fleet 'em
Content with naught or what best pleased 'em
And what he took, resolved to spend
Upon, or give them, at the end.

I am unable to make out either the grammar or the meaning of the third line, which has been copied exactly as written. In the nave is an old, plain, wooden chest.

The chalice and paten bear the inscription: "Mended and beautified at ye expense of ye Rev^d Joseph Hazwell, late Rector."

[To be continued.]

NOTES ON WITLEY, SURREY.

BY E. A. CHANDLER.

THE RED ROSE LEASEHOLD.

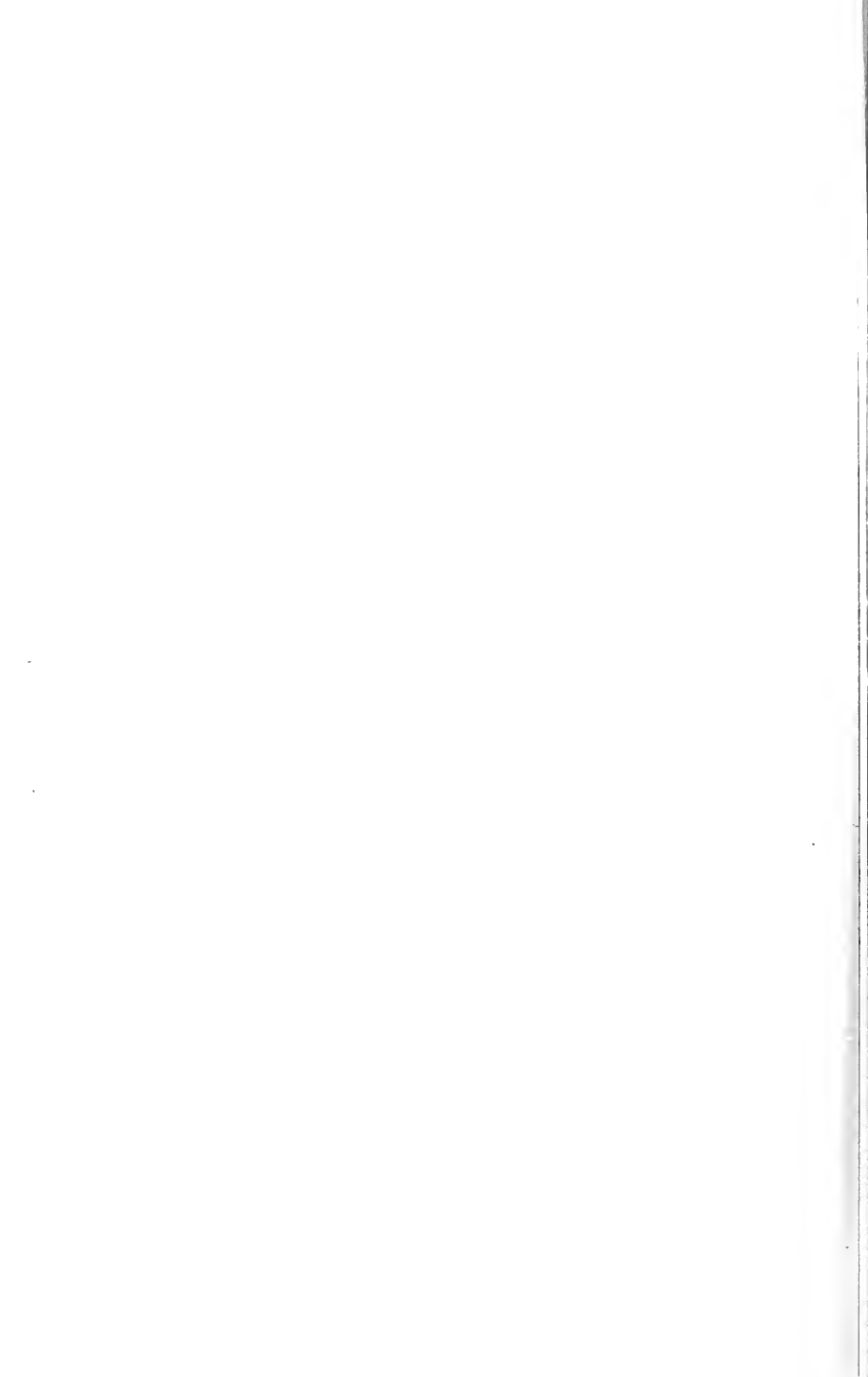
THE old cottages in Witley Street between the Sun Inn and Mr. F. Milton's house are held on the tenure of a Red Rose rent, and as this is somewhat unusual nowadays, it may not be altogether uninteresting to trace their history as revealed in the title deeds.

Thomas Stynt, a weaver of Witley, granted a lease of these cottages, dated January 10, 23 Elizabeth, 1580-1, to Richard Paine of Enton, for a term of 800 years from Christmas, 1580, at the yearly rent of a red rose.

On March 4, 1580-1, Richard Paine assigned the lease to



The "Red Rose" Cottages, Witley.



NOTES ON WITLEY, SURREY.

John Howick of Witley, butcher, who died in 1606, leaving by his will to his son John his "howsinge and gardens thereto in Witley Street, but his Wife to have the use of the litle house and litle garden during her life."

In 1614 John Howick, the son, assigned to Richard Bedell of Witley, butcher.

In 1636 Richard Bedell assigned to Richard Eade of Witley, yeoman, whose son and executor, Richard Eade, in 1679, 31 Charles II, assigned to Francis Denyer, who on October 16, 1686, assigned to Thomas Matthew.

Thomas Matthew in 1699 assigned to William Crafter of Witley, tailor. In 1703 William Crafter assigned to John Crafter.

In 1742 John Crafter married Anne March, one of the daughters of John March of Enton, and this property was included in a marriage settlement, dated July 20, 1742, of which John Woods was one of the trustees. John Crafter died in 1789, leaving his wife, the said Anne, who died in 1800, and a son, Henry.

In 1802 the executors of John Woods, the last surviving trustee of the settlement of 1742, and Henry Crafter assigned to William Bowler of Witley, bricklayer, who on May 7, 1810, assigned to Henry Balchin. Henry Balchin died on May 16, 1845, having by will left his real and personal property to Peter Heward and Edward Keen on trust for sale. In 1846 Heward and Keen assigned to George Gilbert of Chiddingfold, cordwainer, who died on June 30, 1854, leaving the property to his wife for life and afterwards on trust for sale. Mrs. Gilbert died on July 23, 1870, and on September 29, 1870, the trustees of George Gilbert's will sold to James Pannell of Elstead, gamekeeper. James Pannell died on August 3, 1884, bequeathing the lease by his will to his son John Pannell, and on December 12, 1904, John Pannell and his mortgagee sold to E. A. Chandler, the present owner.

All traces of the freeholder, the representative in title of Thomas Stynt, have long ago disappeared, so that there is now no one to claim the red rose.

Amongst the documents relating to the property is the will of one Thomas Rapley, probably for a time the tenant of one of the cottages. An abstract of the will is as follows:

xxii September, 1610.—I, Thomas Rapley of Witley, an unprofitable servant of God, weake in body but in perfect

NOTES ON WITLEY, SURREY.

memory (God be praised), do make this my last Will and Testament. First, I comend my soule unto the hand of God, my maker, hopeinge assuredly through the onely merits of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlastinge. Unto Nicolas Rapley, my sonne, xvs. within $\frac{1}{2}$ yeare after my decease; unto Thomas Rapley, his sonne, five shillings unto his use at same time. Unto Agnes Rapley, my eldest daughter, a cowe, to be delivered presently after the decease of Agnes, my Wife, and a bockerame [buckram] sheet, a brooch and an andiron. Unto Joane, my second daughter, one other cowe, a coverlet, a brooch and an andiron, to be delivered as aforesaid; but if Agnes, my Wife, fortune to marry then the kine and the other thinges unto them [the daughters] presently.

DIARY OF THE REV. JOHN CHANDLER.

The following are extracts from a diary kept by my father for each Sunday at the end of the year 1834 and during 1835. They are not in themselves of any very great interest, but they give a picture of the clerical work of that time, when Thursley, although possessing an ancient church, was technically a chapel held with the living of Witley, and Milford had no church at all.

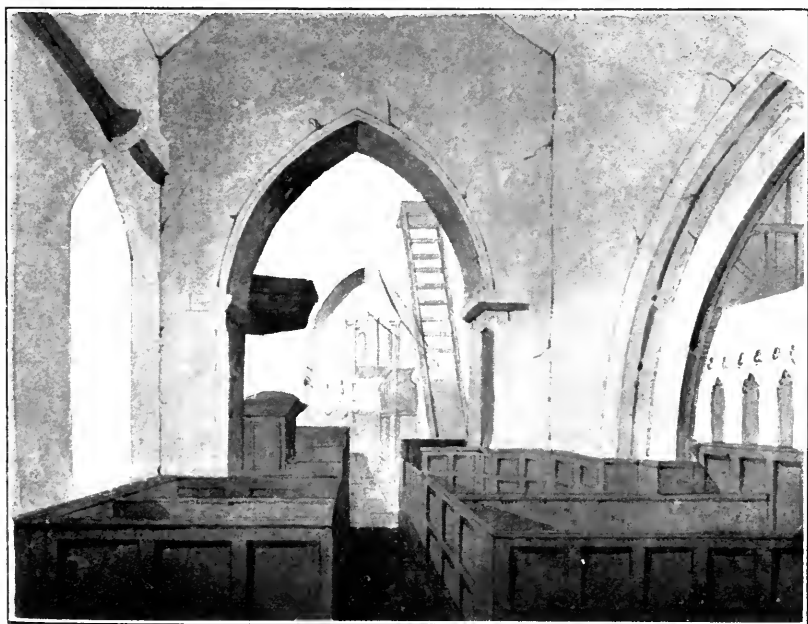
My grandfather, the Rev. John Flutter Chandler, was Vicar of the parish. He was an old man at the time the diary was written, and was for many years Vicar of Woking as well as of Witley. He lived in his own house, then called Witley House, with his wife, formerly Miss — Currie, and his daughter Mary, afterwards Mrs. F. S. Blunt. My father acted as his Curate, and lodged in the village; the Vicarage was let. There were services alternately in the morning and afternoon at Witley and Thursley, and a lecture at Milford in the evening, given either by my father or by his cousin, Mr. Horace Currie, who lived at Milford House with his sister, Mrs. Webb.

The parish was large and rambling, stretching pretty nearly from Godalming to Hindhead, and was then unspoiled by modern building, few of the cottages being of later date than the sixteenth or first half of the seventeenth century.

Witley Church was full of high pews and had a musicians' gallery in the north transept. The south porch, by which the Church is now entered, was blocked up, and full of building material. The congregation stepped down into the Church from a large west door.



Witley Church, looking East.



Witley Church, looking West.



NOTES ON WITLEY, SURREY.

The Sunday School arrangements were primitive. There was a class for girls held in the stable of Witley House; the boys were taught in the village school (the present Infant School), and a class was held by a Mr. Tom Welland somewhere in the village and another by a Mr. Cooper at Culmer.

Extracts from the Diary.

1834, Decr. 25th, Christmas Day.—Preached an old sermon at Witley and Thursley. Pretty good congregation at Witley; many communicants. A very large congregation at Thursley, as there always is on Christmas Day. The same sermon, and it seemed to do better. May God soon raise up for these poor people a Shepherd of their own, who may lead them to their Saviour and prepare them to come to God and partake of the great salvation which He so freely and bountifully hath provided them with.¹ The boys had their dinner and seemed pleased, as also the teachers.

1835, Jan. 4, Sunday.—Church in the morning at Witley; up at 7; at 9-30 went and read a prayer to my mother's school children and taught a class, and taught Mary's girls in the stable. Not a great many in church; preached 36 minutes; not very good. At Thursley, walked with Horace [Currie] part of the way; a large congregation; sermon did better; gave Mrs. Berry a book; Mrs. Hardy's child christened; called on Mrs. Moon, and discoursed them about the Cherry Fair.² I hope it may do them good.

Jan. 25.—Up early in the morning; looked over my sermon, it did pretty well, better at Witley than at Thursley, as it wanted shortening and altering in several places. There was not a very good attendance at Thursley Church, and the people kept coming in after the service began. Heard the 2nd and 3rd classes at the School their catechism (they were very dull indeed); all the teachers present, but rather a confusion and no great order. Saw Mrs. Craft from Haccomb and Mrs. Moorey from Creed Hole. Walked home by myself, and looked over my sermon. Went to my mother's school before Church; large congregation, several aliens. Baptisms, which my father took; went to see Joe Hockley and Dame Duke.

Feb. 15.—Heard the boys their catechism; taught girls, in stable, before Church; talked to them about their hymn; pretty good number at Church. After Church had my dinner and walked to Thursley; large congregation as usual. Same sermon as at Witley; afterwards had 2 christenings, Mrs. S. Denyer and S. Court, and a funeral, an old woman out of the workhouse; saw Mrs. Jardine, much the same, Mrs. Weston, Mr. & Mrs. Lewis; Mrs. L. better; talked about my

¹ The first Vicar of Thursley was appointed in 1853.

² A fair held in the summer, apparently on a Sunday, a source of great offence; see June 28.

NOTES ON WITLEY, SURREY.

intended lecture. Called at Milton's on my way to Milford; poor old Mrs. M. just dead; got to Milford just as the clock struck 7; largish party; spoke to them for an hour about "the Labourers in the Vineyard," and hope delivered it faithfully; got home by half past eight.

Feb. 22.—Breakfasted in the library while my father was shaving. Got to Thursley by 9.15. Heard the boys of the 3rd & 4th class their catechism, and asked questions about scripture history. Hope some of them are improving, but discipline is sadly relaxed; not many at Church; preached sermon. Hope it made an impression; it did better at Witley, where there were no singers, but great many people considering the wetness of the day; all the Miltons; no Hewards there. Taught the girls before Church.

March 1.—Read prayers in the school at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9; stayed with them till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, and then taught the girls till Church time; made out with them pretty well. Girls said hymn about gay clothing; pretty good congregation in Church; all the Hewards; singing the old way, but hope and trust by next Sunday to be able to effect such a change as shall be more agreeable to the congregation and more (what is the great thing) to the praise and glory of God. Walked to Thursley in the rain; a large congregation; same sermon. Old Mrs. Hillyer buried; very wet; saw Mrs. Nash, and scolded her and her daughter; saw Mrs. Weston and Mrs. Jardine; then to the lecture, made out hardly enough on charity; must do better next time.

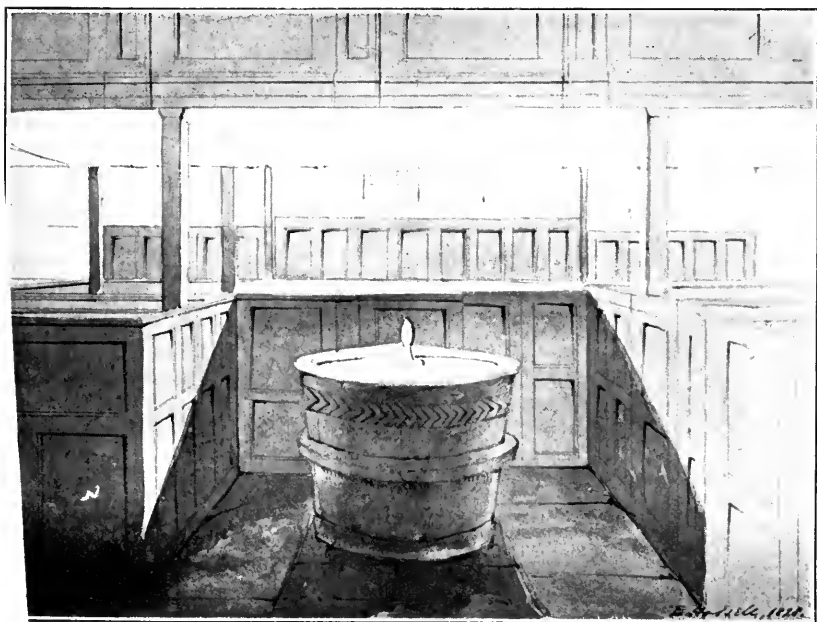
March 8.—Off for Thursley by $\frac{1}{4}$ to 9; got there in time for prayers; heard 4th class & 3rd class their catechism and 2nd class a few questions. Wedding of Mrs. Winter's sister put off. Pretty good congregation; preached on "He that liveth in pleasure is dead while he liveth"; directed to Mrs. Nash, &c., but also I hope may be useful to many more besides her. Funeral, after Church, of poor old Mrs. Jardine; the old man was not there; got back in time for luncheon, and went to church to announce the singing. It made out very fairly, and all people seemed pleased at our first attempt. The same sermon; an immense congregation, larger than I ever knew it. Young men behaving badly, both before and after Church; spoke to them, but not kindly; went to see Tom Trigg, and sat with him a little while. After dinner went to Milford, and had a pretty good attendance of people at the lecture.

April 12th.—Mother went to the girls in the stable. I read prayers to the boys in the schoolroom, and at 10 Mr. Le Maire came, and we practised till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 on the Seraphine;¹ it seemed to do very well. Taught the girls for a short time, but soon sent them into Church. A large congregation; the music did very well and seemed to give great satisfaction. After service dined and off to Thursley,

¹ A keyed wind-instrument, something like a harmonium.



Thursley Church, looking East.



Thursley Church, looking West.



NOTES ON WITLEY, SURREY.

service there at 3; had $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour to hear the boys their catechism. Sam Denyer no better. Old Walker acted as clerk; a very full church. Walked across the common to the workhouse; saw poor old Master Slow, he seems very badly; saw a good many people going to Tom Welland's; not many people at the lecture at Horace's, it did not do very well; spoke on Melchisedek, but did not understand the subject myself, therefore no wonder if I spoke badly, and what I said on the Sacrament seemed very clumsy, but I hope it may be turned to good.

Easter Sunday.—Service and Sacrament at Witley in the morning; very large congregation. Mr. Le Maire played the Seraphine; a very good attendance at the Sacrament. Same sermon at Thursley, good attendance; Walker, clerk; anthem very long. Saw S. Denyer afterwards, old Mrs. Mitchell and the people at Hound-down; boys playing cricket on Mousehill Green. Lecture at Milford.

April 26th.—At Lavington. Did the duty for Manning,¹ who had lost his father; got down there late on Saturday evening; nobody at home; went over to Graffham on Sunday morning. Catechised the boys in the schoolroom; not a very large congregation; awkward church; full of galleries; got back in good time, and dined between the services. Went to the Church at Lavington before service, and heard the boys and girls; preached at Lavington; good congregation and a nicer church. Immediately after set off for a long walk all over the downs; then to Sutton, back through Burton Park by a little after 7; did not return home that night.

May 3rd.—Had finished my sermon in good time, on the subject of the death of poor John Knowles, from James, iv, 13, 14; preached it at both Witley and Thursley, tho' it did not do so well at the former as it did at the latter place. Read prayers at mother's school, and then went down to Cooper's and was very well pleased with them. A pretty good congregation in Witley Church, all but the young men in the gallery; got to Thursley a little before church time; a large congregation; saw old Mitchell afterwards; christened Mrs. Wisdom's child; gave notice of lecture at 7 o'clock. Went to High Button, calling on old Phillips by the way; saw Mrs. Hardy, and promised her a Bible; saw Dame Collin, and read and prayed with her and the Fosters, who came in to her.

May 17th.—Went first to the Boys' school and read the prayer, and then to Welland's school, where I heard the boys their catechism; then returned and went to church, where there was a good congregation, being a very fine day; Mr. Le Maire with the Seraphine; the singing did extremely well. Heard after church of Mary Mitchell, and of H. Davis and Hannah Elliot running away. Dined, and

¹ Afterwards joined Roman Catholic Church and was subsequently Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. The places here mentioned are all in Sussex, between Petworth and Chichester.

NOTES ON WITLEY, SURREY.

walked to Thursley; same sermon; very full congregation indeed; heard the boys for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before the service began; changed books, etc., afterwards; called at Denyers, Sam somewhat better; called at Graff's, Mr. Mitchell was reading to them; saw Berry and Nash. Got to Milford by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6; lecture at 7. Singing a failure, for no men came; room very full. Got home by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. Saw Susan Elliott on my way back, and one or two more people.

May 24th.—At Thursley by 9. Catechised the 3rd class; brought new books for the little boys.

Ascension Day.—3 o'clock at Thursley, 7 at Witley. Heard the girls before 11; a very large congregation indeed, never hardly saw so many; singing very bad; Mr. Le Maire played out of all time. After dinner walked to Crossways; saw R. Taylor and the Luffs; then round the ponds; scolded boys at the P. house; do. at Culmer, & took away their ball.

May 31st.—Read prayers for my mother (girls in stable); heard a class and the girls before going into Church. Mr. Le Maire was there, and the singing did extremely well; do. the sermon, for tho' bad in point of composition, it contained some home and wholesome truths. Same at Thursley. Went to dinner directly after Church at my house, Horace Currie and all. Did not get to Thursley till just church time; saw Smithers and Hone very drunk on the Portsmouth Road. Very full congregation; 2 christenings afterwards, Alfred Searle and Thomas Court. Read over the Registers with S. Denyer; called afterwards at Mrs. Western's and Mrs. Saggars, and walked home some way with young Walker; saw Abraham Smith and Wm. Rothwell and W. Trigg before I came in. We passed the evening together at the Vicarage.

June 28.—Walked over to Thursley, and arrived there by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, in time for prayers; stirred them up about the Collects and Gospels, and heard the 2nd class give an account of the collect, and spoke about the hymns. Not many people in Church, the old Lewises, Knowles, etc.; my father was there, and spoke about the Sabbath-breaking, Mr. Lickfold, etc. Saw a cart which I suspect contained cherries; I pray I may be mistaken. Got home an hour before church; heard the girls; a large congregation in Church; several strangers, Hambleton people. After Church saw Taylor with a bat, and took it away from him; went afterwards to Hockley's to complain of Charles, and to Mrs. Ransford's. Taught my boy (boot and knife boy) afterwards for an hour.

July 5.—Walked after breakfast to Welland's, and stayed there a short time; seemed to do very well; pretty good congregation in Church, singing did nicely. Dined between churches with Horace Currie. Got off to Thursley about $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2; it rained a little; got to the school just as they were going to Church; large congregation; same sermon. Saw Mrs. Weston, who is ill and keeps her bed; afterwards walked to Bowler's Green; saw Mrs. Lillywhite and her

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

husband, the Berrys, the Courts & Mrs. Craft, who had the Lower House people to tea. Then to Mr. Gele's where I saw the Riddells; then to Franks, where I saw him and his wife and had some talk. Home by Bannacle at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7; taught Jack (the boy) for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour.

July 12th.—Mr. Stevenson was here. We went together, I walking, he riding, to Thursley, and he heard the children their catechism. My father read prayers. Mr. S. saw some of the people after Church, but not many. Home by 2. Stevenson went to the girls in the stable; I did nothing before Church; there was a very large congregation indeed. The singing did very well. Harriett [Mrs. Webb of Milford House] and 3 others were churched. After dinner Stevenson and I went to the Wellands, where we had tea, the families of Welland, Cooper and his wife, Denyer, John Knox, the Triggs and ourselves; hymn and prayer after tea.

July 26th.—Set out for Thursley before $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, and got to Thursley by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9; read prayers to the school and heard some of the boys; gave a Bible to Mrs. Franks for William, who is left; pretty good congregation in Church. Heard the school girls at Witley, and preached the same sermon in Church; not very many there, especially in the singers' gallery, but pretty well altogether. Le Maire's boy came with his sister; singing did tolerably, and the service; sent away Withall's girl and another, who had not been confirmed, and had a great talking with Strudwick, whose child was to have been baptised.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

BY PETER DE SANDWICH.

[Continued from p. 16.]

ST. MARGARET'S AT CLIFFE.

1569. (Archbishop Parker's Visitation.)

THAT they lack the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

That divers times our Minister doth his service without a surplice.

He doth minister the Communion in the finest white bread.

The church lacketh reparations, the chancel is undecently kept, our Vicar hath pulled down two seats in our church, and hath felled a palm [yew] tree.

Thomas Holte hath not communicated come Easter shall be three years; also William Salmon hath not communicated since Easter was twelvemonths.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

That we lack our ordinary sermons.—(Vol. 1569.)

1580. *See under* Badlesmere in vol. vii, p. 212.

1590. The church lacketh repairing.—(Fol. 69.)

We want service upon certain Sundays, our Mr. Tanner serveth two places, by reason whereof he sayeth service with us once a fortnight.—(Fol. 121; vol. 1589-91.)

1592. Our church is gone to decay in such sort that our poor parish, without aid and assistance of others, is not able to repair it. Also the church-yard is to be repaired.—(Fol. 168.)

Stephen Woollett, for retaining a maid-servant of thirteen or fifteen years old, and not sending her at any time to be catechised, notwithstanding he hath been sundry times required so to do by our Minister and Wardens.

William Harris, for breaking open our church-yard gate, by reason whereof the hogs break in and turn up the graves.—(Fol. 177.)

1593. That in the year in which — Marable and Luke Philpot were Churchwardens, they or the one of them did pull down or cause to be pulled down a chapel called "Our Lady Chapel," standing on the south side of the chancel, and the windows of the same, which was covered with lead, and also a part of the covering of the church which was leaded, they pull down and recover with tiles.

When they appeared in the Court they said that, as Churchwardens, they took off the lead from a chapel on the south side of the chancel there, and did new raft the same, and covered again the chapel with the lead so far as it would go, and then about twelve feet of the same with tiles.—(Fol. 230; vol. 1591-3.)

1595. Luke Philpot, for the denying to pay a part of a cess made by the parish, and his own consent to the cess making.—(Fol. 24.)

George Finnis, our Clerk, for saying service, for the which we, the Churchwardens, have forbid him.—(Fol. 56.)

There is a Bill of Presentment made by the Churchwardens of the parish, upon a certain woman, called Margaret Fordred, to be accused for a witch, by the report of divers.—(Fol. 87.)

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1596. Luke Philpot refuseth to pay the cess for the reparation of our church, being cessed at 42s. 3*d*.—(Fol. 111; vol. 1594-6.)

1597. We present our Vicar, Mr. Tanner, and Edward Trussle, for brawling, chiding and disorderlying themselves in the church.

Our church and chancel is not repaired, and the churchyard unfenced.

Our vicarage-house is not sufficiently repaired.

Our Vicar, for being away a month, and we having no service.

Our Vicar, for not wearing the surplice.—(Fol. 113; vol. 1596-8.)

1600. John Thurbarne of our parish refuseth to pay all his cess, being made for the reparation of our parish church, being cessed at 6s. 8*d*.—(Fol. 273.)

James Maye of the city of Canterbury, who, upon Monday, the second day of June, did put his horse in our parish church, being offensive to divers of the parishioners there.—(Fol. 274; vol. 1598-1600.)

1601. Our belfry or steeple wanteth repairs.—(Fol. 96; vol. 1600-2.)

1602. William Leonard, Jurate of Dover, farmer of the parsonage of St. Margaret's, for that the windows of the chancel of the church are not sufficiently repaired.—(Fol. 21; vol. 1602-4.)

1606. Our church is not sufficiently repaired, by reason of the greatness of the damage which did come about by the late storm, and the poverty of the parish.—(Fol. 21; vol. 1606-7.)

1608. We want the Ten Commandments, and our church wanteth reparation.—(Fol. 5; vol. 1608-9.)

1609.—The vicarage is not sufficiently repaired, the fault of Edmund Tanner, Vicar.—(Fol. 89; vol. 1609-11.)

1614. Richard Allen, farmer of our parsonage, for that the chancel is much out of repair.—(Fol. 161; vol. 1613-6.)

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1616. We have no decent carpet for the Communion Table, nor flagon for the wine at the administration of the Holy Communion.

Our church is not sufficiently repaired, viz., the walls and buttresses of the church and belfry, the floors in the church not well paved, or otherwise not decently kept, and the seats or pews in the church not well maintained.—(Fol. 18; vol. 1616-8.)

1618. Philip Gibbon¹ complained that Mr. Edmund Tanner, Vicar there, denieth to the parish a Book of Martyrs, as he hath heard it called, which Sir Peter Manwood gave unto the use of the parishioners there, to be kept in the church, and one other book, whereof he knoweth not the name, and also Bishop Jewel's works; and that he many times abuses his parishioners in his sermons, terming of them louts and disgracing them and persecuting them, and especially this complainant.

Further he informeth that the vicarage-house is much decayed and in great want of repairs, and is holden up by props and shaws, and the walls much broken.

Further he liveth offensively, by haunting of taverns and ale-houses.

When the Vicar appeared in the Court he said:—That he hath the books, viz., a volume of the Book of Martyrs, which Sir Peter Manwood gave to him, as he understood it, but since he understandeth otherwise, he will restore them, with the book of Jewel's works, within this month. And promiseth to restore the vicarage.—(Fol. 24; vol. 1617-9.)

1619. Our steeple wanteth some reparations, and we humbly crave a convenient time for the repairing of the same.—(Fol. 35.)

¹ Philip Gibbon (an ancestor of the historian) was the elder son of Thomas Gibbon, who in 1573 had purchased the Manor of West Cliff, near Dover, and was buried in West Cliff Church, January 15, 1596. Philip rebuilt the manor-house in 1627, which date is on the house. He married in 1586, at West Cliff, Elisabeth one of the daughters of Thomas Philpot, by whom he had two sons, Thomas and Matthew; also a daughter, Mary, who married in 1611 Thomas Sheaf of Cranbrook. Philip Gibbon probably gave up West Cliff to his eldest son and moved to Canterbury, as his will describes him of St. Mary Magdalene, Canterbury, yeoman; it was proved September 16, 1629, at Canterbury. Philip was buried at West Cliff, August 24, 1629; also his widow, Elisabeth, September 16, 1647.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1620. We present that the steeple of St. Margaret at Cliffe is not sufficiently repaired, and because the breach and ruin thereof is so great that it cannot be made up in a short space, and winter now approaching there can be no convenient working about it.—(Fol. 163.)

1621. That the church is not sufficiently repaired, by reason of certain drops of rain coming through the lead covering the roof of the church in divers places thereof, which we will with all convenient speed amend; only we humbly crave some reasonable time for the better effecting thereof.—(Fol. 257; vol. 1619-21.)

Edward Croydon of the parish of Thanington near Canterbury, yeoman; that whereas one Richard Croydon of the parish of St. Margaret at Cliffe did by his last will and testament devise and bequeath a legacy of two bushels of barley yearly for ever out of his lands, now in the occupation of Edward Croydon, towards the reparation of the church of St. Margaret at Cliffe aforesaid; and that the barley hath been for many years paid by the said Edward; nevertheless of late times for the term of these sixteen years at the least, he hath with-held and detained the yearly rent of barley, and absolutely denieth any further payment of the same.—(Fol. 65.)

1622. A gutter or leaden pipe on the north side of the church is not well and sufficiently repaired.¹ The churchyard is not well fenced.—(Fol. 132; vol. 1621-2.)

1637. The south aisle of our church, for that it is not sufficiently repaired; and we do hereby crave a sufficient time for the repairing.—(Fol. 99.)

1639. We have no decent and convenient Communion Table, nor a decent linen cloth for the same table.

One of our Bells,² which is broken, and is not serviceable or any use.—(Fol. 270; vol. 1636-9.)

¹ In July, 1622, the Minister and inhabitants of St. Margaret's, Dover, sent a petition to Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports, for his influence to obtain letters-patent towards the repair of their parish church, and the sea-mark there, which are much decayed, the inhabitants being unable of themselves to rebuild them.—*Cal. of State Papers*, 1619-23, p. 435.

² At present there is only one bell, dated 1696. In *Church Bells of Kent*, p. 388, it is said that "local tradition asserts there were more bells here, but no documentary or other evidence exists." This "one of our bells" owes the accuracy of the local tradition. And see below, under 1679.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1679. There are three bells belonging to the parish church of St. Margaret's, and two of them are cracked; and the steeple of the church is so weak and shattered, having a crack in it from the top to the bottom, and so hath been for some years past, that it must be wholly taken down before any frame and bells can be set up, otherwise it would soon shake the steeple down; and that the steeple, frame, and casting of the two bells, with hanging the same, would cost at least £400 to £500, which sum the parishioners are not able to raise, being very poor, the major part of them tenants. That the parish church is very large, and doth yearly cost a considerable sum of money to repair. Whereupon the Judge monished William Homesby to appear the next court-day after Michaelmas.—(Fol. 45; vol. 1675-98.)

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

By FRANCIS EDWIN TYLER.

THE early precautions against fire adopted by the City authorities were rather remarkable. At a very early period any householder who dared to cover his house with thatch, generally had the mortification of witnessing his dwelling destroyed by the authorities. In the year 1302, one Thomas Bat, citizen, came before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen and bound himself and all his rents, lands and tenements, to keep the City of London indemnified from fire and other losses which might occur from his houses covered with thatch, in the parish of St. Laurence, Candlewykestrete, and he agreed that he would have the said houses covered with tiles, about the Feast of Pentecost then ensuing. Furthermore, in case he should not do the same, he granted that the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Bailiffs of London, should cause the said houses to be roofed with tiles, out of the issues of his rents aforesaid.

In the reign of King Richard the First, the wardmotes ordered that all persons who dwelt in great houses within the wards should have a ladder or two, ready and prepared to succour their neighbours in case of fire; further, that all persons should have in the summer time, and especially

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

between the feasts of Pentecost and St. Bartholomew, before their doors, a barrel full of water, for quenching such fire, if it be not in a house which had a fountain of its own; also that reputable men of the Ward, with the Aldermen, should provide a strong crook of iron, with a wooden handle, together with two chains and two strong cords, and that the Beadle should have a good and loud-sounding horn.

It was also strictly forbidden that any person should be so daring as to be found wandering about the streets of the city after the Curfew had rung at St. Martin's-le-Grand, upon pain of being arrested. This makes rather pleasant and amusing reading, in view of the great freedom enjoyed by citizens of the present day.

The first mechanical contrivance for extinguishing fire was a syringe or squirt. It was two feet in length, and when in use was fastened by means of straps to the body of a man. Some were worked by three persons, two of whom held the squirt and nozzle, whilst the third worked the piston within. These early engines were much in demand, and after the Great Fire they increased in large numbers, ultimately giving way to improved fire engines.

Two years after the disastrous conflagration of 1666, the City Corporation established a force of men, styled the Fire-Police. Each parish was provided with the following implements: leathern buckets, pickaxes, sledge-hammers, shovels, and brass hand-squirts.

The enormous damage caused by the Great Fire led to the establishing of Insurance Offices. The first office, the Phoenix, was founded in 1682, and its meetings and business transactions were held at the famous Rainbow Coffee House in Fleet Street. This was followed by the Hand-in-Hand (1696), and a few years later, 1706, the Sun Office was established. Each individual company kept its own engines and firemen, the latter wearing distinctive liveries.

Outbreaks of fire were very frequent, and in 1708 the Lord Mayor and Common Council issued the following solemn varning:

Whereas divers fires often happen by the negligence of servants, be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any menial or other servant or servants through negligence or carelessness shall fire or caused to be fired, any dwelling-house, or outhouse or houses, such servant or servants being thereof lawfully convicted by the oath of one or more

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds into the churchwardens of such parish where the fire shall happen, to be distributed among the sufferers by such fire, in such proportions as the said churchwardens shall deem just; and in case of default or refusal to pay the same immediately after conviction, the same being lawfully demanded by the said churchwardens, that then, and in such case, such servant or servants, shall, by warrant under the hands of two or more Justices of the Peace, be committed to some workhouse or House of Correction, as the said Justices shall deem fit, for the space of eighteen months, there to be kept at hard labour.

For the more effectual preventing of fires in the City and suburbs, it was enacted by Parliament:

That the churchwardens of each parish be empowered, at the charge of their respective parishes, to fix upon the several main water-pipes in the streets, stops-blocks or fire-cocks, also to provide a large hand-engine with a leathern pipe and socket to screw upon the fire-cock. And for the future all party walls to be of brick or stone, except the houses on London Bridge.

The year 1798 witnessed the formation of a body of men called the Fire Watch or Guard. A few years later the Chairman of the Globe Insurance Office made an attempt to form a general fire-engine establishment, but it proved an utter failure. However, in 1832, eight of the then existing Insurance Companies formed an alliance, and thus started the London Fire-Engine Establishment. By its rules London was divided into five districts, and each was supplied with an engine-house or station. There were also two floating stations, one being at Southwark Bridge, and the other at Rotherhithe.

These floating engines required over one hundred men to work them, and they threw water at the rate of two tons a minute. Gratuities were awarded to policemen who gave an alarm of fire at the nearest station. It is also worthy of note that bystanders were liberally paid for any assistance they rendered to the firemen in their endeavours to extinguish outbreaks. It required some thirty men to work each engine, so that at a large conflagration some five hundred bystanders, or even more, were employed.

Ofttimes the engines were summoned from the country, being conveyed to the required destination by rail, many arriving too late to be of any assistance.

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

We get a very faithful and amusing picture of these early parish engines in Dickens's *Sketches by Boz*, from which we abstract the following:

Such are a few traits of the importance and gravity of a parish beadle—a gravity which has come under our observation, except when the services of that particularly useful machine, a parish fire-engine, are required; then indeed all is bustle. Two little boys run to the beadle as fast as their legs will carry them, and report from their own personal experience that some neighbouring chimney is on fire; the engine is hastily got out, and a plentiful supply of boys being obtained and harnessed to it with ropes, away they rattle over the pavement, the beadle running—we do not exaggerate—at the side, until they arrive at some house smelling strongly of soot, at the door of which the beadle knocks with considerable gravity for half an hour.

No attention being paid to these manual applications, and the turncock having turned on the water, the engine turns off amidst the shouts of the boys; it pulls up once more at the workhouse and the beadle “pulls up” the unfortunate householder next day for the amount of his legal reward. We never saw a parish engine at a regular fire but once. It came up in gallant style,—three miles and a half an hour at least; there was a capital supply of water, and it was first on the spot. Bang went the pumps—the people cheered—the beadle perspired profusely; but it was unfortunately discovered, just as they were going to put the fire out, that nobody understood the process by which the engine was filled with water, and that eighteen boys and a man had exhausted themselves in pumping for 20 minutes without producing the slightest effect.

Steam was first applied to work a fire-engine in 1830, and proved a great success.

The history of the development of the steam fire-engine is largely bound up with that of the firm of Messrs. Merryweather and Sons, who have done so much to improve our fire-fighting appliances.

The early history of the firm is not known in any great detail.

At the end of the seventeenth century, a business which included the manufacture of pumps, and other apparatus for the extinction of fire, was established in Cross Street by one Nathaniel Hadley. He subsequently removed to Long Acre in 1738, where he erected the first fire-engine factory. In the

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

course of time the style of the firm became Hadley and Simpkin. Mr. Moses Merryweather joined the firm as an apprentice in 1807, and eventually became head of the business. The firm made such rapid progress, that the Government were not slow in seeking their advice on matters relating to fire extinguishing, which example was quickly followed by some of the most distinguished men of the day. Among those who gave much attention to the methods of fire extinction was the late Duke of Buckingham. The Duke had an aptitude for mechanics and was a frequent visitor to the factory at Long Acre.

So much for the early history of the firm: now let us consider their relation to the improvement of fire-extinguishing appliances during the past fifty years.

When Nathaniel Hadley commenced business as a maker of fire appliances the manual engine of the day was a small machine drawn to fires by means of a trolley, and worked usually by sixteen men. It was an excellent engine for pumping purposes, having regard to its size, however deficient it may have been in provision for rapid transport, and in other ways. The first great improvement was made in 1792, when metal valves were used in place of leathern ones. The engine remained unaltered, and was still of little value. Gradually, however, engines with larger wheels were constructed, having a seat for the driver, and a hose-box upon which the men could ride.

It remained, however, for Mr. Moses Merryweather to construct an engine more conveniently arranged and more powerful in regard to weight and size than any of its predecessors.

This important event took place in 1851, when he launched his "London Brigade Manual." Since 1851 many improvements have been made, and especially in 1885, when a new pattern valve was invented; but substantially the pattern of 1851 is still in vogue.

Turning to the steam fire-engine we read that the first one was designed in 1829. Little was heard of its existence until 1879, when several similar engines were placed upon the market and were eagerly bought. Between the years 1860 and 1885, Messrs. Merryweather helped many small towns and country districts by giving support to local efforts for proper means of protection against fire. Often a meeting which was being held for the purpose of interesting the inhabitants of the locality in the fire prevention question, would be enlivened by a representative from Long Acre driving up on an

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

engine and giving a display with the machine, thus helping to arouse the necessary enthusiasm to make the fire brigade movement a success.

Another firm which for three-quarters of a century has been prominent in the manufacture of fire-engines and appliances is that of Messrs. Shand, Mason and Company. In 1852 they were employed by the London Fire-Engine Establishment (the fire brigade of that period) to apply steam-power to one of the existing fire floats, then hand worked, on the river Thames. The result was eminently satisfactory, once it was decided to obtain a complete self-propelling steam fire-engine. This engine, the first complete floating steam fire-engine built, went into active service in 1855, and held its own until 1890, when it was superseded by a more modern appliance. Three years later, 1858, the firm commenced to construct land engines, and completed their first engine towards the latter end of 1858. This was not destined to do useful work in England, but was shipped to St. Petersburg, where it rendered capital service. The engine had a capacity of from 200 to 250 gallons of water per minute, and was tested, with splendid results, before shipment abroad. *The Times* of November 25, 1858, reported the trial as follows:

On Friday morning, at seven o'clock, this new machine was worked at the Grand Surrey Canal, Camberwell. In ten minutes from the time of lighting the fire sufficient steam was obtained to throw a $\frac{5}{8}$ inch jet to a considerable elevation. This was changed for larger ones up to one inch in diameter, the height of the latter being equal to that from a Brigade engine when worked at full speed.

The firm received a well-deserved honour when, in 1860, the London Fire Establishment hired from them the first steam fire-engine on wheels. A second engine was purchased, and won the first prize at the London International Exhibition of 1862.

By this time public interest in steam fire-engines had been fairly aroused, and in July, 1863, the famous competitive trials took place at the Crystal Palace, when a committee of scientific men, headed by the late Duke of Sutherland, with the able assistance of the late Sir Eyre Massey Shaw, K.C.B. as secretary, raised a sum of £700 to be distributed in prize-money for the best steam fire-engine. The result was, one half of the prize-money was adjudged to Messrs. Shand, Mason and

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

Co., while the other half was divided between two other competitors. Further success attended these engines abroad—one of them obtaining a gold medal in an exhibition in Middleburg, Holland. This engine subsequently went to Bradford.

Continuing the thread of our story we find that as the Metropolis increased in size so the number of fires increased, until in 1862 a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to inquire into the existing arrangements for the protection of life and property against fire. A bulky report was issued, and the outcome was that a new force was established, under the control of the old Board of Works, the title of the force being "The Metropolitan Fire Brigade." Captain Shaw was given the post of superintendent. The force comprised about 350 officers and men, with a numerous and various supply of engines and appliances. The central station was in Watling Street, in the City of London.

Each succeeding year the Brigade has rapidly increased in size and efficiency. At the time of writing the force is under the direct control of the London County Council; the total strength is as follows: Chief Office and a staff of 1,451 men; 82 land stations; 3 river stations with floats; 74 horsed steam fire-engines; 7 steam motor fire-engines; 4 petrol motor fire-engines; 10 motor escape-vans; 56 miles of hose; 90 hose carts; etc. The number of fires during the year 1910 reached the huge total of 3,208, 83 lives being lost.

The stations are equipped with the very best appliances that modern engineering science can produce. Yet in spite of these and other sundry precautionary measures the Metropolis still suffers from disastrous outbreaks of fire.

In another chapter we shall endeavour to recall a few of the many disastrous conflagrations that have, at one period or another, wrought havoc, destruction, and death to many citizens of London.

RURAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME COUNTIES IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD III.

BY W. HENEAGE LEGGE.

IN a former number of *The Home Counties Magazine* [vol. vi, p. 47] a few interesting items were presented from the *Nonæ Rolls*, showing some of the aspects of London in the early days of the third Edward. How there were twenty-four acres of arable land in the parish of St. Clement Danes, and no tradesmen in Tottenham, whose inhabitants "lived by agriculture and their stock of sheep," while the wealth of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields lay in its cow-pastures, and that of Westminster in its meadows of hay. Extending the presentment of the past to the aspects of the more distant suburbs and the Home Counties, we may glean from the same source an interesting insight into the affairs—agricultural in the main—of these important portions of the kingdom.

It will be remembered that these *Nonæ Rolls* contain the returns of the commissioners and assessors of the value of the ninth sheaf, the ninth fleece, and the ninth lamb in every parish, as well as the fifteenth of the goods of townsmen, which had been granted by Parliament to Edward III to carry on "his wars in Scotland, France and Gascony." These surveyors and assessors of ancient days must have worked more expeditiously than some modern commissioners we wot of. For instance, in the assessment of Sussex (whose particulars are the most detailed) they examined, sitting at Chichester, the juries of parishioners of no fewer than eighty-two parishes in one day!

In the metropolitan county of Middlesex it is found that Staines, Harrow, Edmonton, Hackney, and Enfield were the most profitable parishes to the king's war-chest, all yielding forty pounds or more, while the first-named paid no less than fifty pounds and one mark, a considerable total in those times. Most of the other parishes surveyed rendered comparatively small sums, Great Stanmore (which has a traditional association with Cassivellaunus), indeed, being valued at no more than twenty shillings. In some of these poorer

RURAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME COUNTIES.

parishes the taxpayers attributed their poverty to a variety of causes.

In Harmondsworth and Littleton they complained of the sandy nature of the soil, apparently with considerable justice, since in the latter parish a large amount of land was not considered worth tillage until quite modern times. In addition they had suffered from a hot and dry summer, which had "burnt up and destroyed" such crops as they had grown. The poverty of Littleton also, and of Shepperton, was stated to be so great that the parishioners could not even sow their lands. At Sunbury, too, the inhabitants were so poor that the greater part of their land lay fallow, while on account of "the too heavy taxation" they had been obliged to sell most of their sheep. Kensington also, though paying a fairly high tax, had more than 428 acres of arable uncultivated. The church of this parish appears to have been well endowed, since the Rector had, besides money-rents, more than 400 acres of arable land and 9 of meadow, while the Vicar had 12 acres of arable and the ninth part of the hay of the parish.

Hackney must have presented a very rural aspect in those days, and evidently consisted chiefly of meadow-land, since the ninth part only of the hay was worth £13 6s. 8d., more than double that in the riverside parish of Fulham.

Of Edmonton we may remark that in this Plantagenet survey it retains its Domesday name of Edelmeton, and also recall the fact that at Bush Hill are—or were lately—the remains of an ancient British camp; all which serves to point out Edmonton as an ancient habitation and name. In the returns for Isleworth and Twickenham, Queen Philippa is mentioned as a landowner; being probably lady of the manor or manors in these parishes; they were still royal manors when Henry V founded the magnificent monastery of Sion at the last-named place in 1414, which scarcely twenty years later was removed to the former, and after the Dissolution was granted to the Protector Somerset, when it became the celebrated Sion House.

So much for Middlesex as regards the parishes assessed in this survey, which, as a matter of fact, do not number more than 64.

In Essex, on the other hand, the Inquisitions included 353 parishes, but there remains on record little more than mere money matters and the names of the three, five, or more

RURAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME COUNTIES.

parishioners who composed the jury examined in each case. But enough exists to show that agriculture was in anything but a flourishing state in that county, since in all but 22 parishes the taxable value was much below (by a half, a third, or a quarter) what it was at the time of Pope Nicholas's *valor* about fifty years before.

The most profitable parish to the Exchequer should have been Witham, whose *valor* was over £54, but the jurors returned the "ninth" at only £26. It is a place of great antiquity, identified by some with *Canonium*, the Roman station of Antoninus. In confirmation of this (at least as regards period) the numerous coins of various emperors found here may be adduced, as well as the tile-like bricks in the church walls; the remains of a more or less circular camp, with double vallum, existing in the neighbourhood, perhaps, points to a still earlier time, though local tradition attributes it to Edward the Elder, who, as the Saxon Chronicle says, "built the burh at Witham."

Of little less nominal value was Havering, yet its "ninth" yielded no more than £16. Here one of the jury examined was a certain John atte Hatche, a name serving to recall the existence here of the royal park of Haverynge-atte-Bourne. For a *hatch* was a peculiar kind of forest or park gate, the lower portion, of a form similar to an ordinary five-barred gate, being surmounted by a super-structure designed to prevent the deer from overleaping the barrier. Doubtless John atte Hatche, together with John le Parker, another juror here, were concerned in carrying out a royal order addressed, in the same year of these Inquisitors, to the Sheriff of the county, directing him to "cause to be felled twenty large oaks in the King's park of Haverynge," the timber being required for certain structures in the Tower of London; possibly, *inter alia*, for repairing or strengthening the cages of the wild beasts kept there. At this period a certain Roger le Bowyer was "keeper of the lions and leopards" in the Tower, receiving 3s. 1d. a day, namely, 1s. for his wages and 2s. 1d. for providing the food for the lions and leopards.

Fifteen years later the Queen granted and the King confirmed, the manor of Havering to Nicholas and Alice Taleworth to be held by the yearly payment of a pair of hare-skin boots and assisting in maintaining the pales of the park.

As for the 1,400 or more personal names preserved in these records of past Essex they show the large proportion of sur-

RURAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME COUNTIES.

names which have been derived not only from places but from mere situations. For instance, on one page alone there are eight showing such an origin, as atte Bregge, atte More, atte Mershe, atte Brooke, atte Ponde, atte Felde, atte Parke, and atte Helle, the latter name casting no reflection upon its owner, or upon Essex, the word merely meaning "Hall." Besides these there are atte Holte (a little wood), atte Chirche, atte Gate, atte Tye (a common), and many others similar. More uncommon is Richard Licthewatre, while Thomas de Rankdiche's name seems to suggest indifference to "scouring his ditch," a very frequent cause of amercement at the local courts in the Middle Ages.

The records for Hertfordshire preserve many details of rural life and circumstance not without interest for us to-day. Herein, as in Essex, agriculture was in a depressed state, and in all but ten parishes under survey "a great part of the arable land lay fallow." In Bishop's Hatfield such crops as grew to maturity were stated to be "of poor quality." Here the Bishops of Ely had a palace, which afterwards came into the hands of Henry VIII, the parish having been a royal demesne in ancient times; and here Queen Elizabeth passed some years of her life in an easy but secure captivity, the bounds of her wanderings, according to tradition, being defined by an oak tree still existing in the park.

Similar agricultural adversity oppressed Ware, Braughing, Therfield, and Barkway, with the additional drawback that the wool and lambs in these parishes were included among the things depreciated in amount and value. The two latter places, together with Bockland and Birley, appear to have been particularly afflicted during the Plantagenet era, for a Close Roll of thirty years earlier records that "the men of the villis of Thirfeld, Berkwey, Bocland and Birlee had the whole of their crops destroyed by a great storm." Later on in the ages, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, additional adversity befell Barkway, a great fire almost entirely consuming it; a disaster which recurred in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Braughing, much minished doubtless from the days when it was demesne of the Saxon kings, is in two respects like Edmonton, being traditionally of Roman origin, and likewise possessed of the remains of a camp; in this instance more likely the make of the conquerors of the old world, since it is quadrilateral in form. Here, in the year of these "Inquisi-

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

tions of the Ninths," John de la Lee had license from the King to make a park, his ancestor Walter having had a grant of hunting rights thirty years earlier.

Next to Bishop's Hatfield, Ware was the most valuable parish to the tax-gatherer of the Ninths, albeit they amounted to but £22. It is also stated to have had more than one mill, an important factor in the Middle Ages.

SAMUEL PLIMSOLL, CHERITON CHURCH, AND THE VICINITY.

By THE LATE W. L. RUTTON, F.S.A.

[Continued from p. 91.]

SAMUEL PLIMSOLL, "the Sailors' Friend," was not himself a sailor; he was a landsman and a coal merchant. The fact surprises us at first, and it is a fact which, as we become acquainted with him, enhances our appreciation of him and his work. He was born at Bristol in 1824. His parentage was undistinguished, as perhaps may be said of the greater number of men who by their own ability and worth have won distinction. During his childhood his father, Thomas Plimsoll, removed with his family to Penrith in Cumberland. Here his fourth son, Samuel, received his first schooling which, after another family move, was continued at Sheffield. Then he commenced his career as clerk to a solicitor, but the legal course does not seem to have proved congenial, for he soon forsook it and entered a brewery. From being clerk he rose rapidly to be manager, and that he early acquired a position among business men is shown by his appointment as hon. secretary to the local committee for the Great Exhibition of 1851, his age then no more than twenty-seven.

Three years later he transferred himself to London, and here his mettle was tried by failure at the start. The Post Office London Directory assists us to follow him. His first appearance in that annual work was in 1855, as a coal factor at the Coal Exchange, but as his name is withdrawn the next year we presume that he had failed, and was reduced to the penury of which in later days he spoke, the time when he had to live

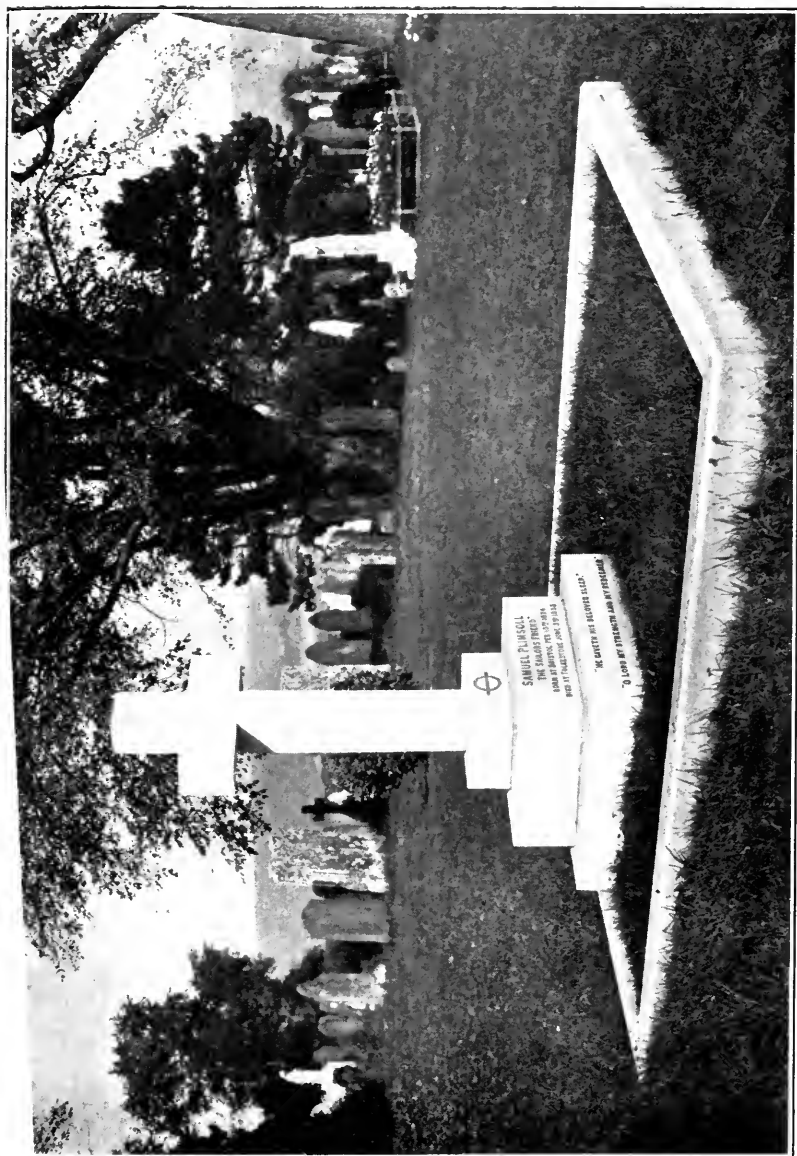
CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

a whole week on 7s. 9½d.! Undaunted by a first failure we find him in 1857 as a Gas Coal Merchant in Hatton Garden, to this in 1858 (the year he married) he added "Manufacturer of Locomotive Coke" and is similarly described until 1866. But in 1860 he had transferred his business to the Goods Station of the Great Northern Railway at King's Cross. That ability and assiduity had enabled him quickly to master his business was shown as early as 1862 by the production of a pamphlet on the Export and Inland Coal Trade, and his rapid advance in fortune appears in his being able to incur the expenses of a Parliamentary Election in October, 1865. His candidature, however, was not successful. *The Times* of January 31, and of February 8, 10, and 12, 1868, contains long letters written from Sheffield, showing that he had devoted considerable time to the study of the consumption of coal in the iron-smelting works of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire and parts of France and Belgium.

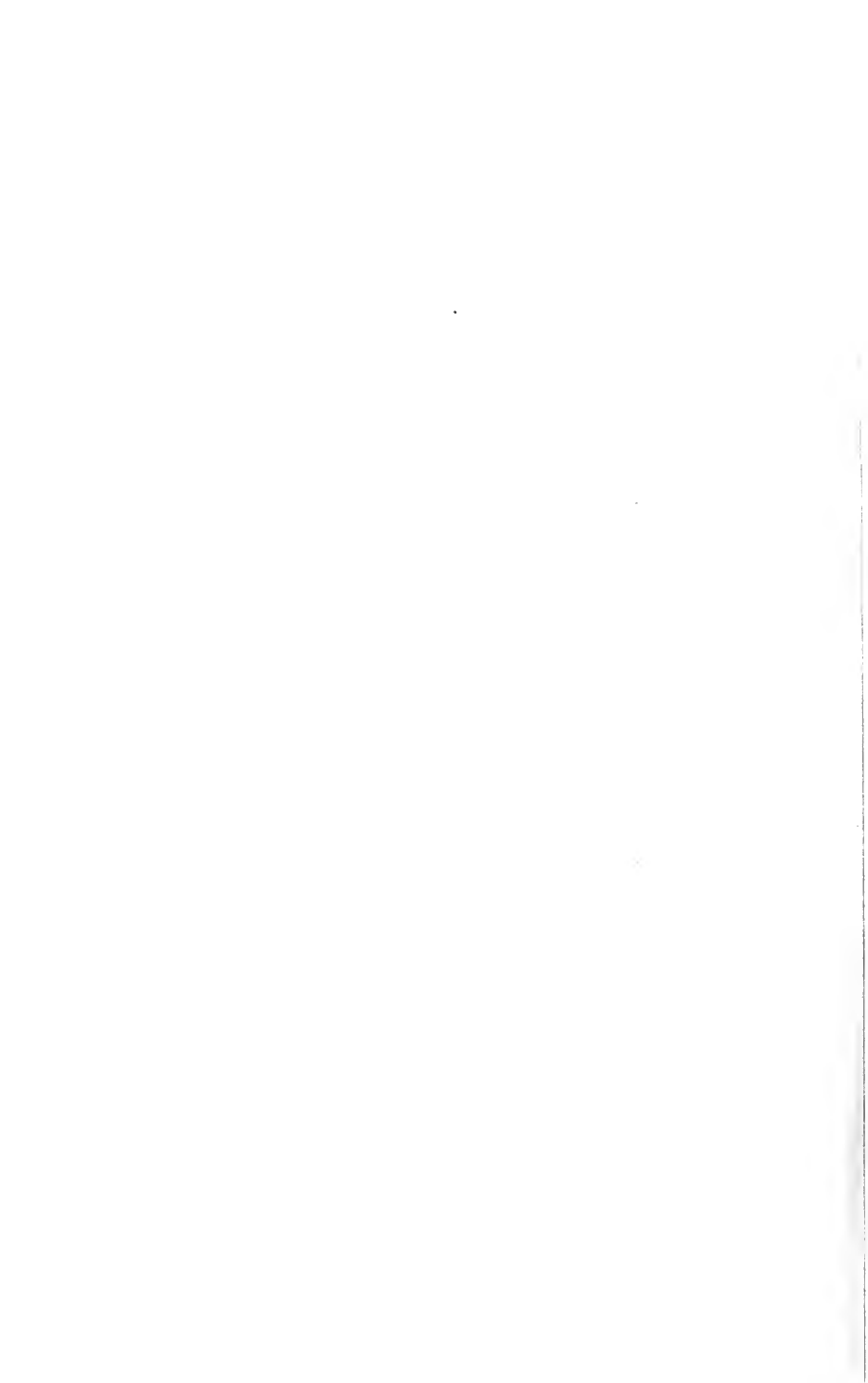
In 1867 he had taken up his residence at Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield, and thus resumed connection with the place where his career had commenced. But it was to Derby that he again applied for a seat in Parliament, and in December 1868 that constituency elected him as Liberal member by a majority of 2,500. Sheffield appears to have been continued as his residence until 1872, though in 1870 (only) he had also as his address 9, Harrington Square, London, N.W., in 1873-1876 he is located by the Directory in Victoria Street, Westminster, and in 1877 at 28, Park Lane.

His experience in the coal trade had brought to his knowledge the corrupt practices of merchant-shippers and insurance agents in sending to sea unseaworthy and overladen vessels, regardless of peril to the crews. The danger of the sailor's life had also been indelibly impressed on his mind by his own participation in it at a time, when during a terrible storm the vessel was nearly lost in which he with his wife were voyaging. There, in the supreme moment of danger, he vowed that if his life were spared he would devote it to the saving of life at sea. The incident was related to an enthusiastic meeting in Exeter Hall in the furtherance of this cause.

During his first session in Parliament—that of 1869—he spoke in several debates, but it was not till his second session, 1870, that, on July 28, he introduced a resolution adverting to the great loss of life and property at sea owing to the overloading of ships, for prevention of which a compulsory fixed



Samuel Plimso's Grave, Cheriton.



CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

load-line was advocated. The subject had many sympathisers, but the time was not yet ripe for the reform required, and the only result of a long discussion was the forced withdrawal of the resolution. This was Plimsoll's first rebuff, but, undaunted, he had a Bill ready for the session of 1871; yet after a vigorous appeal, forced withdrawal marked his second defeat. In 1872 the Government passed a Bill to amend the existing Merchant Shipping Acts, but this being unequal to Plimsoll's requirements, he took no part in the debate. At this time he was occupied in setting the cause of the sailors clearly and forcibly before the public, and with that object he wrote the pamphlet which attained considerable notoriety entitled *Our Seamen, an Appeal*. It was a vigorous attack on the practices of ship-owners, under-writers, and insurance agencies, and contained many examples of disasters caused by the employment of unseaworthy ships, and overloading. These ships, unable to live in any stress of weather, were "coffin-ships" to the unfortunate crews that manned them; and sailors' lives were sacrificed to the cruel greed of those who had obtained insurances at bogus values.

The way thus prepared he, in Parliament, March 4, 1873, moved an Address to the Queen praying for a "Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Mercantile Marine and certain practices connected with it." The long speech as reported in Hansard is deferential in tone, able, earnest and forcible; the language, however, was occasionally not that in common use in modern Parliaments, but rather that of seventeenth century Puritanic sessions. He asked for a Commission to be appointed to make a thorough and searching inquiry into the whole subject, including undermanning, bad storage, deck-loading, deficient engine-power, over-insurance, defective construction, improper lengthening, over-loading, want of repair, necessity for certificated masters between Brest and the Elbe, rate of speed lawful in fogs, rule of road, and code of signals.

The Royal Commission was appointed and made a preliminary report in September of the same year (1873), the pith of which was that a load-line on the principle of proportion of free-board to depth of hold of the ship, as proposed by Plimsoll, could not be recommended. The final Report was made in July, 1874, the decision in regard to a fixed load-line was that no universal rule for the safe loading of all merchant ships could be prescribed. But Plimsoll had not waited for this

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

final decision. In March, 1874, supported by Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Samuda, and two other Members, he brought in a Bill to provide for the practical survey of merchant ships and for so marking ships as to diminish the practice of overloading. He had many sympathising supporters, the House was nearly equally divided, but by a majority of three (Ayes 170—Noes 173) the Bill was lost.

The narrowness of the defeat no doubt inspired him to further efforts, and again in February, 1875, he, with the same supporters, was ready with another Bill. But the Government of Disraeli, carried by the force of public opinion, was also prepared with a measure. This was supported by Plimsoll, though not entirely to his satisfaction, for again he had to insist on the all important point—the fixing of a maximum load-line. But again disappointment befell him, for after several debates the Bill was withdrawn.

This blow was too heavy for Plimsoll. During six years in Parliament he had given all his energy to obtain legislation against flagrant abuses acknowledged on all sides to exist. Year after year he had suffered defeat with patience—in the preceding year by a majority of three only—and yet again was the measure of reform to be repulsed by those whose personal interests it affected. It is not wonderful that he then in keen disappointment and indignation lost self-control. Greatly excited, he moved the adjournment of the House and then implored Ministers not to consign thousands of human beings to miserable death. Ships passed from hand to hand until bought by some needy and reckless speculators who sent them to sea with precious human lives . . . wives were made widows and children orphans in order that speculative scoundrels might make unhallowed gains . . . there were shipowners who were simply ship knackers, he had heard a Member of the House thus described; here there were shouts of "Order," but he proceeded, "I am determined to unmask the villains." The Speaker intervening, presumed that the expression "Villains" did not apply to any Member of the House, but Plimsoll affirmed that it did, and refused to withdraw it. The Prime Minister, Disraeli, "with great reluctance" moved that the hon. Member for Derby, for his disorderly conduct be reprimanded in his place. The Speaker ruled that he should be heard from his place, and then withdraw, but Plimsoll, without claiming to be heard, walked out of the House, yet once turning he exclaimed, "Do you know that

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

thousands are dying for this?"¹ Further discussion on the matter was postponed for a week, in order that the Hon. Member having recovered composure might then make his apology. In a week's time he again took his place in the House, and making frank and ample apology for the expressions he had used, he withdrew them, but any statement of fact advanced he was unable to withdraw. The perfectly courteous and deferential speech was favourably received, and, notwithstanding the reservation of fact, Disraeli expressed the general feeling of the House that the apology was sufficient. The incident was thus dismissed, but not so the subject which had raised the storm; public indignation had been roused, and the shrewd head of the Government saw that to allay it a measure must at once be brought forward. Even the day before the apology was made an "Unseaworthy Ships Bill" was read for the first time, and being hurried through all its stages received the Royal Assent a fortnight after its introduction. This was an interim Bill, to serve for one year only, and until a more complete measure should be brought forward next session; it gave to the Board of Trade more rapid and direct action in carrying out the provisions of previous Acts.

For the session of 1876 Plimsoll was ready with another Bill, which having been read a first time was dropped to give place to the promised Government measure. This occupied the House more than three months. It did not satisfy our Member, who proposed an Amendment and had much to say on the subject; but he got his "load-line." It was enacted that every British merchant ship should show on each side amidships a horizontal line twelve inches long—white on black or black on white—indicating the deck-level, and also a horizontal line eighteen inches long drawn through a circular disc twelve inches diameter showing the level to which the owner intended to load the ship for the voyage. This was the "load-line" for which Plimsoll had long contended, though not based on the proportions he had recommended. The marking was simply left to the discretion of the ship-owner or master, subject to the approval of the Board of Trade Inspector; the declaration of distance between deck-line and load-line had, however, not only to be officially stated, but also set down in agreements between master and crew. For neglect to mark the load-line, or for overloading, the penalty was £100.

¹ He is said by Sir Henry Lucy, in *Diary of Two Parliaments*, to have taken his fist at the Prime Minister, but it is not so reported in Hansard.

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

Thus after seven years of persevering effort "The Sailors' Friend" had achieved his aim. "He had left his mark on every British ship" (*The Times*).

He sat in four sessions of Parliament after winning the load-line, and in the Hansard reports are his inquiries in specific cases of loss of ships, and occasional speeches on kindred subjects. In his last session, February—March, 1880, he introduced a Bill to amend former Merchant Shipping Acts relating to stowage of grain cargoes. On this a Select Committee of Inquiry was appointed. His last speech, on the subject of Parliamentary Elections, was on March 17, a week before the dissolution.

In the election of April, 1880, he was again returned by his Derby constituency, and with a handsome majority of 5,000; seven weeks later he resigned his seat in order that Sir William Harcourt (who had been ousted at Oxford) might take it. His constituents at Derby were much opposed to his retirement, and, as he said in his final speech to them, he had found it much harder to get out of his seat than many a man finds it to get into one.

Within three months after his resignation he had no less than thirty invitations from constituencies in all parts of the country. Yet although he had spoken of his return to Parliament as not improbable, he seems to have been at this time bent on travel, and so declined the seats offered to him. He went to the United States (several visits), Canada, Bermuda, Australia, and India. That he went to Australia soon after obtaining liberty of action appears in the announcement of his return from Brisbane in November, 1882. There also he pleaded the cause of the sailor, and his efforts received a handsome recognition in April, 1883, when he was presented with a model in silver of a ship that had been named after him "The Samuel Plimsoll," to which was attached a miniature life-buoy, bearing the dedication: "Presented to Samuel Plimsoll, Esq., by the Seamen of New South Wales, in recognition of his disinterested and valuable services to the Seamen of the World."

But his attention was not entirely directed to the interests of the sailor; from time to time he was occupied in other practical enterprises. Thus in January, 1884, he was considering the practicability of a fish export from India, and in furtherance of this object he obtained facilities from the Indian Government previous to a visit to Madras. In Sept-

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

ember, 1885, he was in England seeking at Sheffield election to a new Parliament. Yet although when retiring from Derby in 1880 he had been offered a seat at Sheffield, free of all cost, he was not now successful in opposing the Conservative candidate. In October, 1889, he spoke at a great meeting at Swansea, on the inferior food supplied to seamen, and advocated inspection similar to that enjoyed by people ashore. At this time also he wrote to *The Times* on the subject of deck-loading, showing his interest in the sailor's welfare unabated. In 1891 his health broke down, and he resigned the office of President of the "National Sailors' and Firemen's Union." In October of this year he was very ill at his house, 28, Park Lane, and on the 19th, being better, wrote a characteristic letter to *The Times*, referring to late violent gales, and rejoicing in the saving of life as the result of the prevention of the overloading of ships.

At the beginning of 1892 he seems to have regained health, and in January served on the Labour Commission. In June, 1892, an election being in view, sailors were exhorted by their friend in a public letter to support the Conservative minister. This on Plimsoll's part was a change of party; the Gladstone Government had disappointed him, its head had even refused him audience, whereas Lord Salisbury, with greater sympathy, had received him.

On January 11, 1896, he wrote to *The Times* on "The Position of Great Britain," evincing his keen and wide interest in the affairs of the world, and even a prescience of international development. Correspondents had written and were writing on the then isolation of England among nations. This he thought an advantage, as leaving the country free to take its own line; but he urged defence, and *imprimis* the augmentation of the fleet. The whole of an expected surplus—every shilling of it—should be devoted to that purpose; no thought should be indulged of the repeal of any tax until that was accomplished. He advocated the cordial relations with France and Russia which, since he wrote, have been developed, and even suggested that the latter Power should take charge of Turkey.

The above letter was written from Folkestone, which for many years had been his temporary resort. At the beginning of 1896 he settled there permanently at 35, Augusta Gardens, which proved to be his last residence. He had been distressed by observing the ill-feeling displayed by Americans towards

CHERITON CHURCH AND THE VICINITY.

England, and attributed it not a little to the school-books used in the United States, which reflected the resentment caused by the part taken in this country during the war between North and South. With his usual energy, he set himself to dispel this misunderstanding by collecting from fifty-two English school-books their references to America, in which no trace of ill-feeling was found. And with these collected extracts he, in company with his wife, crossed the Atlantic, sought the Minister of Education at Washington, and laid the matter before him, so clearly and forcibly, that he gained the Minister's entire sympathy, with the result that in the next Educational Report thirty pages were devoted to the extracts furnished by Plimsoll.

Returned to Folkestone, the health of the strenuous humanitarian declined, and the failure of eyesight afflicted him. In the last two years of his life the tall, bent form, leaning on his wife's arm as he walked, was seen at times on the Leas; by-and-by perhaps the pleasant gardens at the rear of his house sufficed for airing. He had been almost forgotten when, on the morning of Friday, June 3, 1898, it was told that he had passed away. On the next Tuesday his body was laid in Cheriton Churchyard; his widow and two little daughters (the elder only twelve years old) were there, and other members of his family; also representatives of the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, the Deep Sea Fishermen, the London City Missions, and a large contingent of seamen of all grades in the employment of the South-Eastern Marine Service. And, significant of his wide Christian sympathies, prayers were offered by both Anglican and Congregational ministers. The grave, a few yards off the north side of St. Martin's chancel, faces eastward; but turning a little towards the south one looks down the fair valley, with the sea in the distant view. So, ending as we began, it may be said once more of "the Sailors' Friend" that: "After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

Mr. Plimsoll was twice married. By his first wife—whom he had the misfortune to lose in Australia, in 1882—he had no children. Of his second marriage in 1885 there were the two daughters above-mentioned, and one son, Samuel Richard Cobden Plimsoll, graduate of Balliol College, Oxford, and now of the Inner Temple.

THE NORTHMEN IN THE THAMES.

BY ALEX. J. PHILIP.

FROM the departure of the Romans (or at least from the time of their official or nominal departure from our coasts) to the Norman Conquest, it would be difficult if not impossible to find any period in the history of Gravesend and its surroundings, or, in fact, of any town on the southern bank of the river, so barren of relics and historical and topographical remains. Apart from Saxon cemeteries and the scanty remains of pre-Conquest architecture, much the same may be said regarding the rest of the country in general, most certainly in regard to Kent, but in the Gravesend district there have been very few discoveries of this kind. The most valuable evidence, such as it is, is to be found in the nomenclature. Even this is not so valuable as it might be elsewhere, because there is not enough of it. For a long time dene-holes or Dane-holes were regarded as valuable data to our knowledge of the Northern invasion, but, as I have previously pointed out, the name is not traceable in any way to the invaders.

Undoubtedly a considerable amount of destruction followed the Anglo-Saxons and other invaders during the six hundred years that elapsed from the end of the Roman occupation to the Norman Conquest. Gravesend and its surroundings, as I have already shown, occupied a position of considerable importance in Roman times, and many houses, farms, and other buildings must have been demolished during this predatory period. Perhaps the most representative of these was the "villa" discovered some two years ago at Northfleet, on the banks of the Ebbs. Whether or not we accept the fulsome, glowing account of Dunkin as to the grandeur and importance of the Romans and their residences on the banks of this stream, or arm of the Thames, we have here incontrovertible evidence of the existence of one large building; and I think there is no doubt that, with the extension of the excavations for chalk and clay, others equally fine will be found.

This Roman building, which may or may not have been destroyed or devastated by the Northmen, has been described as a villa. While it partakes of some of the characteristics of

THE NORTHMEN IN THE THAMES.

a purely residential dwelling, it appears as though it would be better described as a farm. A large part of the villa has been uncovered sufficiently to show the existence of still older foundations beneath, but it is not possible to publish at this stage any full and correct survey. The buildings seem to have been of a rather straggling nature. The "finds" were somewhat in the nature of single and isolated discoveries, as for instance a quantity of tiles, a portion of a pavement, some glass, and, not by any means least, a large kiln. The well, too, is of considerable interest; but everything found seems to resemble more the useful articles of a farm, rather than the fine and beautiful things to be found in the residence of a wealthy Roman.

Whatever the material condition of this Roman resident or his neighbours may have been, there is nothing here either to support or discredit the theory that the Angles descended and brushed away the Romans and their beautiful city that stood on the banks of the Ebbs. On the other hand the situation of Gravesend, on one of the most accessible spots on the river, with considerable natural advantages, must have appealed strongly to the invading tribes.

Any detailed picture drawn of Gravesend during these six centuries must be largely the result of fancy and imagination. The generally accepted theory is that the district was the centre of the storm, the war storm, that is, of the south-eastern district. The district is supposed to have been sacked, devastated, and utterly destroyed, so far as the Roman and Romano-British buildings are concerned, and the people living there dispersed or annihilated. After sweeping over the rich Kentish slopes, the Angles, who undoubtedly predominated, are supposed to have made their head-quarters on the stream or arm of the Thames at Northfleet, which we have already referred to at some length as the Ebbs. The conjectural burning of the town is suggested to have occurred very soon after the leaving of the Romans, although the waterway itself is thought not to have disappeared until after the Norman Conquest, and this event is generally understood to have been the result of intention and manual labour, rather than the effect of perfectly natural causes.

The material upon which this story of the burnt Roman town has been built is of the scantiest, and may be said to be non-existent until about the ninth century. Let us examine the remaining data.

THE NORTHMEN IN THE THAMES.

Lambarde derives the name of Gravesend from a Saxon origin, *Gerefesend*, in Latin *Limes Prætorius*; "a Portreve is the Ruler of the Town; and Gravesend is as much as to say, the limit, bound or precinct of such rule or office." While it is not certain whether the ruler's authority was confined to the town, or whether the spot where the town stood marked the termination of the control of some official who governed the river, with his head-quarters higher up the Thames, it seems probably that in the main the derivation is sound, and it may therefore be surmised that there was something in the nature of a settlement here between the fifth and the tenth centuries.

In Denton, a parish on the confines of the borough of Gravesend, on the east beyond Milton, there is traced another strong piece of evidence of Danish occupation. The name "Gravesend" alone is not sufficiently decisive. Coupled with "Denton," however, the value of the evidence is increased on each by the value of the two combined.¹

Denton is variously spelled Denintone, Danintuna, Denitune, Denyntone, Denetune, Danitura, and Danitone, in charters and elsewhere. But the earliest mention does not occur until the tenth century, so that here again we are unable to say what had occurred in the centuries that had elapsed since the going of the Romans.

The third piece of evidence, usually put forward with the expectation of immediate belief, is the name of Swanscombe, a parish on the west of Gravesend, beyond Northfleet. Swanscombe is easily traceable in its etymology to Sweyn's Camp, the remains of which may be still pointed out.

In the district round about are unmistakable evidences of Saxon settlement. Rochester possessed a mint in the Anglo-Saxon period. At Aylesford, about fifteen miles distant, was fought the sanguinary battle to which we owe Kit's Coty House, built over the remains of Catigern, brother of King Vortmer.² Soon after the Romans left the country, in 457, Crayford was the scene of a conflict at which considerable slaughter took place. Chadwell is traced, in name at least, from the Saxon ecclesiastic, St. Chad. These localities, however, are at some

¹ The suggestion that Denton means the town of the Danes is open to serious criticism.—EDITOR.

² I still accept this explanation of the interesting cromlech, rather than the suggestion recently made that it was a prehistoric astronomical observatory, in spite of the weight of the names of the supporting it.

THE NORTHMEN IN THE THAMES.

distance, and throw no light on the condition of Gravesend during these dark centuries.

Discoveries of more or less moment have been made in the district itself. In the early years of the last century a buried hoard of Saxon coins, 552 in number, was found in Pelham Road, a thoroughfare probably of more importance long ago than now, together with a Saxon cross of silver. The dates of the coins ranged from 814 to almost the end of the ninth century, pointing clearly to the period of their deposit. So late a date of course throws no light on the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries of the Saxon occupation, using the generic word "Saxon" to cover the miscellaneous invasions of the Jutes, the Angles, the Danes, etc.

This cross, found in 1838, now in the British Museum, is described as having a loop at the top, for suspension; a glass dome, part of a bead, in the centre, with blue and white markings in a gold mount of rope pattern. There are interlacings at the extremities, and in this instance they seem to be mere sketches, roughly executed with a sharp-pointed instrument, perhaps with a view to filigree ornament.

The coins found were of the following kings, etc.:

Louis of France, Coelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelwulf, Burgred of Mercia, Ethelweard of East Anglia, Edmund of the same, Ethelred, Alfred, Ceolwulf II of Mercia, and Athelstan I of East Anglia.

It will be as well here to describe shortly the invasion of the county.

The traditional date of the landing of the Jutes—the first comers—is 449; they landed in Thanet and overran the county and the coast line, or river bank, as far as London; taking in Gravesend on the way.

The references to Kent in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which is the chief authority for the history of the period, are mostly records of pillage and destruction, ravage and murder, one of the worst of which was the incursion of Olaf described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:

In this year (994) came Anlaf and Swegen to London, on the Nativity of St. Mary [Sept. 8] with ninety-four ships, and they were obstinately fighting against the town, and would also have set it on fire. But they there sustained more harm and evil than they ever weened that any townsmen could do to them. For the Holy Mother of God, on that day, manifested her mercy to the townsmen, and delivered them from

THE NORTHMEN IN THE THAMES.

their foes. And they then went thence, and wrought the greatest evil that ever any army could do, in burning, and harrying, and in manslayings, both by the sea coast, among the East-Saxons, and in Kentland and among the South-Saxons and in Hampshire.

Gravesend borrows some lustre from Rochester in these early days. Cliffe, some distance away, was the scene of the Ecclesiastical Synods. The application of Cliffe is given as Cloves, Hoo. Cooling, or Cowling, still farther off in the same direction, is mentioned in a charter of the year 808, and may have been a place of some importance in the later Saxon period. It is in Meopham, however, that the chief interest of the district is centred in these years.

There we have the valuable evidence afforded by the will of Byrhtic and Aelfswith, his wife, by which Denton was given to the Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester.¹

This is the last testament of Byrhtic and Aelfswith his wife, at Meopham, with the witness of their kinsmen. . . . First to his royal lord one torque of 80 mancuses of gold and one hand seax of as much, and four horses, two caparisoned, and two belted swords, and two hawks, and all his tall deerhounds; and to the lady one torque of 30 mancuses of gold, and one steed, for her mediation with the king that the will might stand. And for his soul and his parents' souls, two sulings at Denton to St. Andrew's; and she, for her soul and her parents' souls, two at Longfield, and thereto, for her 30 mancuses of gold, and one neck-torque of 40 mancuses, and one silver cup, and half a golden band; and every year, at their commemoration, provision for two days from Hazleholt, and for two days from Watringbury, and for two days from Birling, and for two days from Harrietsham. And to Christchurch 60 mancuses of gold, 30 to the Bishop and 30 to the Convent; and one neck-torque of 80 mancuses, and two silver cups, and the land at Meopham. And to St. Augustine's 30 mancuses of gold, and two silver cups, and half a golden band. And to Byrhtworn, the land at Darenth for her day; and after her day, to St. Andrew's, for us (two) and our parents. And Birling to Wulfah; and let him give 1000 pence to St. Andrew's for us and our parents. And to Wulfsige, Wothingbury, within that generation. And to Sired, Hazleholt, within that generation. And to Wulfah, and Aelfah his brother, Harrietsham, within that generation, to Wulfah the inland, and Aelfah the outland. And to Wulfstan Ucca,

¹ See *Denton*, by G. M. Arnold.

THE NORTHMEN IN THE THAMES.

Wolnesstede, within that generation; and one hand-seax of three pounds. And the ten hides at Stratton to the monastery at Wolnesstede. And the land at Fawkham, after Byrhtwarn's day, to St. Andrew's, for Aelfric, her lord and his parents, according to their testament. And Bromley, after Byrhtwarn's day, to St. Andrew's, as Aelfric her lord bequeathed it, for him and his parents. And Snodland also to St. Andrew's, after her day, as Aelfere, Aelfric's father, bequeathed it, and he afterwards, with the witness of Eadgifu the lady, and Archbishop Oda, and Aelfeh, Aefstan's son, and Aelfric his brother, and Aelfnoth Pilia, and Godwine of Fetcham, and Aedric of Hoo, and Aelfsi the priest at Croydon. And to Wulfstan 60 mancuses of gold, to distribute for us (two) and our parents; and another such to Wulfsige to distribute; and be it between them and God if they do it not. And to Wulfsige, Tydiceseg, and the charters, within that generation; and two spurs of three pounds. I, Byrtric, beg for the love of God, of my most dear Lord (the king), that this our gift may remain inviolate, nor any one be permitted to violate it. Likewise we beg and entreat all the friends of God that they be our supporters in this, and may any who presume to violate it receive from our Lord Christ, Himself the Judge, everlasting condemnation! And may they who preserve it inviolate reap the mercy of God.

The foregoing provides admirable illustration of the surrounding country, but throws no light upon the site of the present Gravesend. It tends to prove, however, that this part of the country was well to the forefront in civilization as it had always been. So large a circle of holdings of land would be incompatible with bad roads or bridle-paths, through a desolate wilderness.

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE, Part V.

BY HENRY R. PLOMER.

[Continued from p. 133.]

THE most momentous event in the history of the Church of England in Elizabeth's reign, was the birth of Puritanism, the outward and visible sign of which was the fierce attack of the Martinists upon the hierarchy of the Church.

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

That movement, no doubt, received some support by the accession to the throne of England of James the Sixth of Scotland. At any rate it became more and more a disturbing element, affecting some parishes more than others, according to their locality and the character of the parishioners.

The pages of the Vestry Minute-book of St. Martin's during the first forty years of the seventeenth century would seem to show that it left the surface of the parish life unruffled. There were still found worthy churchgoers and charitable parishioners to minister to its wants and to care for the poor. A few of these may be briefly noted.

In 1610 Henry Sivedale, draper, was one of the upper churchwardens; during his year of office he was much concerned because, as the church possessed only one Communion cup, whenever there were many communicants, the churchwardens were obliged to borrow another. In order to remedy this he presented to the church in 1611 "one fayre new bolle of silver, with a cover of silver, all doble guilt, weying thirty six ounces and a quarter, with his namethereuppon engraven"¹ [fo. 101].

At his death in 1624, this good citizen left a sum of £5 a year for ever, issuing out of his house in Thames Street, known by the sign of the Hand and Tun, for the preaching of three sermons yearly, upon the anniversaries of the accession of Queen Elizabeth (November 17), the defeat of the Spanish Armada (August 9), and the Gunpowder Plot. Each preacher was to receive 13s. 4d., the reader of the service 3s. 4d., the clerk 2s., and the sexton 1s. 4d. In addition, on the seventeenth of every November, a further sum of 20s. was to be spent upon a dinner or supper, to which the preacher for the day, the churchwardens, the two constables, and two of the "auncientest" inhabitants of the parish, one from without the walls and the other from within, were to be invited. The balance of the £5 was to go to the reparation of the church. Henry Sivedale also bequeathed to the poor of St. Martin's an annuity of £3 issuing out of his house in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, which he had lately built on the south-east side of the street there.

A footnote to this entry describes more particularly the position of the testator's house in Thames Street as being "on

¹ This cup and another given by Steven Pecok in 1610 are mentioned in Freshfield's *Communion Plate in the Churches of the City of London*, as being still in the possession of the parish.

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

the north side of Thames Street, and the farthestmost Eastward of the parish of St. Magnus the Martyr; and the 6th house from the corner of Gracechurch Street. The passage of the Hoope Taverne goeth under the said house.—Anno Dom: 1711" [fos. 109-111].

Another benefactor to the church was Ralph Brooke, the herald, a parishioner, who on December 24, 1612, presented a very handsome pulpit-cushion of crimson velvet, with tassels of gold, and also the escutcheon of the arms of the lately deceased Henry, Prince of Wales [fo. 101].

In 1612 a Bible of the new translation was given by Joyce Cooke, widow of Thomas Cooke, "of her zealous and religious devotion to the honor and service of God" [fo. 101 d.].

Dr. Theodore Gulston, a noted physician and student of Aristotle, died at his house on Ludgate Hill May 4, 1632. By his will he left £200 to the College of Physicians to found a lectureship to be held in each year by one of the four youngest doctors of the college. The lectures have been annually delivered since 1639 to the great advantage of medicine in England. He also left a sum of £40 for the relief of the poor of the parish of St. Martin's, and the vestry drew this legacy from a house and shop on Ludgate Hill, known by the sign of the Flying Horse [fos. 125, 130].

During this period the Rectory was held by two men of some distinction. In 1614 the Rev. Samuel Purchas, author of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* and *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, was appointed chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Rector of St. Martin's. His signature appears in these records for the first time on April 16, 1615, to the following characteristic entry:

At a generall Vestrie then holden it was agreed that from henceforth none shalbe chosen to be collectors for the poore or churchwardens in this parish (except upon some extraordinary occasion for the generall good) which cannot write and be able to keep their booke themselves [fo. 102].

He remained Rector until his death in 1626, during which time his *Pilgrimage* went through no less than four editions, a sufficient testimony to the value of his labours and the opinion formed of them by his contemporaries.

He was succeeded by Dr. Michael Jermyn, the son of Alexander Jermyn, merchant and Sheriff of Exeter. He was for a time chaplain to Princess Elizabeth, Electress Palatine,

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

and afterwards to Charles I. He became Rector of St. Martin's before August 11, 1627, not 1628, as stated in the *D. N. B.* His chief literary works were commentaries on the book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, published in the years 1638 and 1639. During his term as Rector the following entry shows how lax the church authorities of St. Martin's had become in the matter of their registers:

Alsoe att the same Vestry [Nov. 14, 1629] it was agreed that all the mariages, christenings and burialls which hath not bine fairlie written and entered into the parchment booke this vj yeares, should out of hand be done, and that Mr. Needham, upper churchwarden, should pay for the ingrosinge of the same.

Between 1630 and 1643 the entries are few and of little interest. After 1640 the Puritan movement began to make itself felt in this as in other parishes throughout the City, and it culminated in the dismissal of Dr. Jermyn. The records do not tell us the cause of his dismissal, but on November 9, 1643, a committee was appointed "to make choice of an able divine to supply the cure of this parish in the rome of Doctor Jermin, who was lately voted from this place" [fo. 138].

The persons chosen to form this committee were probably the chief malcontents; they were Dr. John Clerk, Dr. Sheffe, Mr. Hobson, Captain Walter Lee, Mr. Whatman, Mr. Jeston, and Richard Roche, representing the parishioners within the gate, and Mr. Glover, Thomas Arnold, Matthew Fox, Mr. Looker, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Bachelor, and Mr. Peter Johnson, representing those without the gate.

To this entry there has been added in another and a later hand the following couplet:

Jermyn depriv'd because he dar'd to keep
The Fox and wolfe from preying on the sheep.

The person chosen to replace Dr. Jermyn was a Mr. Gowre or Gower, who held the post until 1648. During this time the Vestry was very active in the discharge of its duties, and its officers kept the records with careful minuteness. Thus in 1643, while Richard Roche was churchwarden, he made an index to the "materiall matters" contained in this volume, and also a list of the money due to the churchwardens from various sources [fos. 34-5].

In May, 1644, a child was left "in the passage through the

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

dogge tavern"; it was christened, and named Marie Martin, and arrangements were made for its maintenance [fo. 140].

In June of the same year money was levied on the basis of a two years' rate from the parishioners for the relief of Gloucester, Hereford, and other associated counties.

The next interesting entry is that of June 29, 1645, when the Vestry unanimously agreed that the Ordinance of Parliament touching the Presbyterian Government, "should goe forward and be put in execution" [fo. 143]. The same hand that wrote the couplet on Jermyn's dismissal, adds to this entry a slashing commentary:

IMPIOUS ERROR

Thus did mad people void of feare and grace,
Besiege the churche and storne the sacred place.

Who's this that comes from Egypt with a story
Of a new pamphlett call'd a directory?
His cloke is something short, his looks demure,
His heart is rotten and his thoughts impure.
In this our land this Scottish hell-hatch'd brat
Like Pharoah's lean kine will devour the fatt.
Lord, suffer not thy tender Vine to bleed!
Call home thy shepherds which thy lambs may feed!

The names of the vestrymen who were present on this occasion are not recorded, but those whose names appear shortly before and shortly after, and who took an active part in parish affairs at that time, were Thomas Arnold, William Hobson, Matthew Fox, William Jeston, Isaac Swift, Henry Dermer, William Audley, Joseph Batcheler, Arthur Whatman, Thomas Lock, Thomas Boteler, Symon Burburie, Thomas Jole, Peter Johnson, Mark Bradley, Capt. Walter Lee, John Smyth, Richard Collett and John Browne.

The imperfect state of the parish register was again before the Vestry in 1647, and on January 6 it was ordered

That Mr. Jeston and Mr. Smith within the Gate, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Batcheler without, should peruse the Register Book for the Christenings, burials and weddings, to perfect the same (if they can),¹ and Mr. Fox, the Clarke, required to be verie carefull in the entringe of the same, during his continuance as parish clarke [fo. 144].

¹ A momentous reservation.

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

During this year, 1647, Mr. Lovell became churchwarden, and during his term of office all the orders of the Vestry were posted in a book bought by him at the charge of the parish [fo. 145 d.]. That book seems to have been in use for some years, as well as the older book, but it is not among the records now preserved at the Guildhall.

Some time in 1648 the parish lost the services of Mr. Gower, how or why we are not told, and had some difficulty in replacing him; thus in 1649 we read:

Severall Vestryes weare called in order to the choyse and settlinge of a Minister in the place, as may fully apere in the other booke. The 15 No: 1649 Mr. Nalton¹ was chose by a very full and generall consent to be Minister, but for reasons best knowne to himselfe did nott accept the place. After that Mr. Warram [? Warren], minister of Hendon, was chose by a very full and free consentt; butt, by the importunty of the people of Hendon, hee was perswaded to abyde with them, and did with very great respect returne harty thanks to this parrish for their love to him.

Upon this incident the Royalist pen wrote:

'Twas Jeroboam's practice and his sporte,
Priests to elect out of the basest sort.

Finally the vexed question was settled on February 10, 1649-50:

A Generall Vestrey then mett, there having been publike notis from house to house on the day before, and publike notis in the church twice, declaring the end thereof, to chows a Minister for the place, thes did meed [meet] a very full appearance of the inhabytants. There was presented to them six Ministers by the committee formerly chose for thatt end, as fitt men for the place: vid: Mr. Harward, Mr. Eyres, Mr. Slater, Mr. Jecombe, Mr. Church and Mr. Wyse; they being all putt to vote, both in the affirmative and negative, and with a generall concentt itt was caried for Mr. Jecombe, ther nott beinge one hand in the negative.

Itt was then agreed that severall neighbors was desired to vissith Mr. Jecombe and acquaint him [with] the resolution of the parrish; which was done the next day, and hee did kindly accept the love of the parrishioners and accept the place: and cast himself upon them for his incuragement.

¹ Perhaps this was the Rev. James Nalton, who then held the incumbency of St. Leonard's, Foster Lane. (see *D. N. B.*).

THE RECORDS OF ST. MARTIN'S, LUDGATE.

Whereupon the Royalist verse-monger chanted:

The heire's slaine, the vineyard's now your own,
But would you the creation cause to moane,
Why trouble you Religion's sacred stream,
And tare Christ's coate, which had no rent or seame?

Thomas Jacombe or Jecombe was the son of John Jacombe of Burton Lazars, near Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in Easter Term, 1640, but when the Civil War broke out he removed to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1643. He shortly afterwards signed the Covenant, and became a Fellow of Trinity in the place of an ejected Royalist. In 1647 he was appointed chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Exeter (*D. N. B.*). He was a man of quiet spirit and moderate views, a pleasant preacher—if we may believe Pepys, who heard him more than once—and a book lover. He was expected to preach twice every Lord's Day, and to administer the Sacraments in due course; in return the Vestry undertook to gather the tithes quarterly, so that he might not have any anxiety as to the payment of his stipend.

This appointment drew from the commentator another couplet:

Thus in the Temple, every saucy Jack
Opens his Shop and shews his Pedlar's pack.

Among the alterations carried out in the church in accordance with the prevailing spirit of the times, was the moving of the pulpit and reading desk, which was done in 1650; this brought out the rhymer's last effort:

The fifth Commandment did their souls so gall,
Their mov'd their Canting-tub to hide 'em all.

I have tried to identify the writing of these scraps of verse but without much success; it seems to resemble most nearly that of Richard Roche, who was churchwarden more than once.

Between 1650 and 1660 the entries only fill six pages of this book, and four of these are occupied with the text of an agreement dated June 14, 1658, between the Minister and churchwardens on one part and Parthenia Lowman of the parish of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, respecting a gift of £100 given by her to the use of the poor of St. Martin's [fos. 153-5].

Charles II was proclaimed King in May, 1660, and in the same month the Vestry of St. Martin's appointed Dr. Jacombe

PRESENTMENTS AGAINST BISHOPS OF LONDON.

to be Rector in the place of Dr. Jermyn, who had died during Cromwell's Protectorate. Orders were also given for the restoration of the pulpit and reading desk to their former positions, for the setting up of the King's arms, and the "bewtefeying" of the church.

But the parishioners had barely recovered from the troubles of the previous twenty years, when another disaster fell upon them, the church and all it contained being reduced to ashes by the Great Fire of 1666.

PRESENTMENTS AGAINST THE BISHOPS OF LONDON, 1425-1493.

BY ETHEL STOKES.

THE following record contains a series of presentments made against various Bishops of London, in the Court of King's Bench, for defaults in not repairing bridges and roads, not scouring ditches, and other similar matters. The list of bridges is particularly valuable, and generally a good deal of light is thrown on the topography of Greater London at a period which is not so rich in material as the centuries before and after it. None of the items seem to call for any special notes.

1493, Trinity Term. Richard Hill, now Bishop of London, successor of Thomas [Kempe], late Bishop of London, is in mercy for divers defaults, presentments whereof have been made in the King's Bench by juries at sundry times as under:

In Trinity Term, 3 Henry VI [1425], presentment was made that the common way at Whitecrostrete in the parish of Fulham is overgrown and obstructed, for want of the scouring of a certain ditch there, which the Bishops of London, from time immemorial, have been bound and accustomed to scour by reason of their tenure.

In Hilary Term, 4 Henry VI [1426], it was presented that there has been a common bridge at Fulham for all the King's lieges from time immemorial, which the Bishop of London ought to repair by reason of his manor of Fulham, and which then lay broken down and in ruins.

In Trinity Term, 5 Henry VI [1427], that the bridge is so broken down, that the King's lieges cannot cross it.

In Michaelmas Term, 7 Henry VI [1428], that there is a bridge

PRESENTMENTS AGAINST BISHOPS OF LONDON.

called Stampfordebrigge in the King's highway between Chelchith [Chelsea], Kensyngton and Fulham, broken down to the increasing damage of many persons; and also two bridges in Hamersmyth, in the highway there between Knottynghill and Acton, so that no one can cross them with their goods and burdens, either on horse or foot, without great danger and loss of their goods. Also that a certain ditch in Hamersmyth next the highway there, between Whytecrostrete and Busshefeld, is filled with sand, dung, clods of earth and other rubbish, so that the water overflows the highway.

In Trinity Term, 7 Henry VI [1429], that there is a bridge in Fulham, in a way leading from Fulham Bery to London, which is broken down, to the great damage of both riders and pedestrians.

In Hilary Term, 8 Henry VI [1429-30], it was presented that Thomas [*sic*],¹ Bishop of London, held a certain piece of cultivated ground called le Hyde, in the parish of Stepney, and is bound to scour a certain ditch between that land and le rechecrofte, about 40 perches long, and to provide for the flowing of the water from Colerlane across the highway there in a ditch, which is now so filled with earth, sand, etc., that the highway is overflowed.

In Michaelmas Term, 9 Henry VI [1430], that a bridge near Anghiton in the King's highway there leading from that place to the city of London is so broken down, that men riding over have broken their horses' legs in the holes in the bridge.

In Hilary Term, 10 Henry VI [1431-2], that the Bishop of London is bound to repair a bridge in Algatestrete, for the use of horses and carts, opposite Whitechapellane, leading from Shordyche to Reedclyff by the highway in the parish of St. Mary Matfelon.

In Trinity Term, 12 Henry VI [1434], that there is a bridge in Fulham called Bradeleysbrigge, in the highway there leading from London to Oxford, broken down and in disrepair. And another bridge there called Storkysbrigge in the highway there, likewise broken down. And another, called Wythybrigge, so broken down that people cannot cross.

In Easter Term, 13 Henry VI [1435], that two bridges in Fulham called Storkys Brigges are broken down, to the great bodily danger of the King's people.

In Easter Term, 15 Henry VI [1437], that there are two bridges in ruins in Acton.

In Easter Term, 20 Henry VI [1442], that there is a bridge in the King's highway between the villis of Acton and Knottynghill called Wodelandbrigge, at Fulham, so broken down that no one can cross it. And another bridge in the highway at Fulham, between the villis of Kensyngton and Hamersmyth, called Hycrossebrigge, so ruinous that one can only cross in danger of one's life.

¹ William Grey was bishop at this time.

PRESENTMENTS AGAINST BISHOPS OF LONDON.

In Trinity Term, 20 Henry VI [1442], that there is a bridge between Kensyngton and Hamersmyth, so broken down that no one can cross with plough or cart.

In Hilary Term, 23 Henry VI [1444-5], that there is a bridge called le Mileend in the parish of Aghton in the way leading to London, and for six months past it has been broken down.

In Michaelmas Term, 24 Henry VI [1445], that there is a bridge broken down in the King's highway near Acton, which the Bishop of London is bound to repair by reason of his lands on either side of the said bridge.

In Easter Term, 26 Henry VI [1448], that there is in Middlesex a water called le Ley, running from Totenham to the Thames, by which ships and boats have been accustomed, from time immemorial, to go from the city of London to the said vill of Totenham and elsewhere, with various goods; and that Robert [Gilbert], Bishop of London, and his predecessors, from time immemorial, have had a water-course issuing from the said water in the vill of Hakney, as far as a place called Boleffaunt in Stebenhith, where the said bishop and all his predecessors, all the time aforesaid, have had and maintained a water-mill and a sluice there, to keep in the water from la Ley aforesaid, so that only so much water should run from la Ley as should suffice for the maintenance of the said mill, and no more, and that the greater part of the said water called le Ley, beyond the sufficiency abovesaid, by reason of want of repairs to the said mill and sluice, now runs away through the said sluice, so that the boats cannot pass along la Ley as they have been accustomed, to the grave damage of the King's people.

In Trinity Term, 27 Henry VI [1449], that there is a bridge in the King's highway, in the parish of Fulham, leading from London to Woxbrigge, called Wodelandbrigge, broken down to the injury of the whole neighbourhood.

In Hilary Term, 30 Henry VI [1451-2], that Storkesbrugge at Fulham is broken down, to the great danger of travellers on horse and foot.

In Easter Term, 7 Edward IV [1467], that a stone bridge in Hakney is in a ruinous state, and that the Bishop and his predecessors in the manor of Bysshypeshalle have always been bound to repair and build the same.

In Easter Term, 9 Edward IV [1469], that a bridge in the highway at Hakney, near Hakney Grene, called Hakneybrigge, is broken down, and that Thomas [Kempe], Bishop of London, ought to repair it by reason of his lordship of Hakney.

In Easter Term, 12 Edward IV [1472], that Thomas [Kempe], Bishop of London, by reason of his manor and lordship in Hakney, bound to repair a bridge in the parish of Hakney in the highway ere, between the end of the vill of Hakney and a hill called

PRESENTMENTS AGAINST BISHOPS OF LONDON

Staunford Hyll, is broken down, so that no one can cross on horse or on foot except in danger of their lives.

In Michaelmas Term, 13 Edward IV [1473], that there is a ditch in Yeling, between the cross called Yelyng Crosse and le Whelme, containing 60 perches, filled up with all kind of filth and rubbish for want of scouring, so that the water running therein overflows and damages the highway.

In Hilary Term, 14 Edward IV [1474-5], that there is a stone bridge in the highway leading from the city of London to the vill of Ware, set in Hakney, in a very broken down state, so that carts and carriages can cross only with the greatest danger. This the Bishop ought to repair by reason of his demesne lands as well in Hakney as in Newenton.

In Trinity Term, 15 Edward IV [1475], that there is a bridge at Hakney, lying between Staunford Hyll and Hakney, one perch in length and twelve feet in breadth, so that neither horsemen nor pedestrians can cross it without great risk.

In Hilary Term, 21 Edward IV [1481-2], that there is a ditch in Yellyng so filled with sand and refuse that the water often overflows the highway and impedes travellers.

Now, in the Trinity Term of the 8th year of King Henry VII [1493], the Bishop comes into court by Nicholas Opy, his attorney, and, having heard the premises, begs an adjournment till the Octave of St. Michael next to come, which is granted to him.

[Coram Rege Roll, Trinity, 8 Henry VII, *m. 6 et seq.*, Rex.]

CHENIES AND LATIMERS. A Walk in the early Autumn.

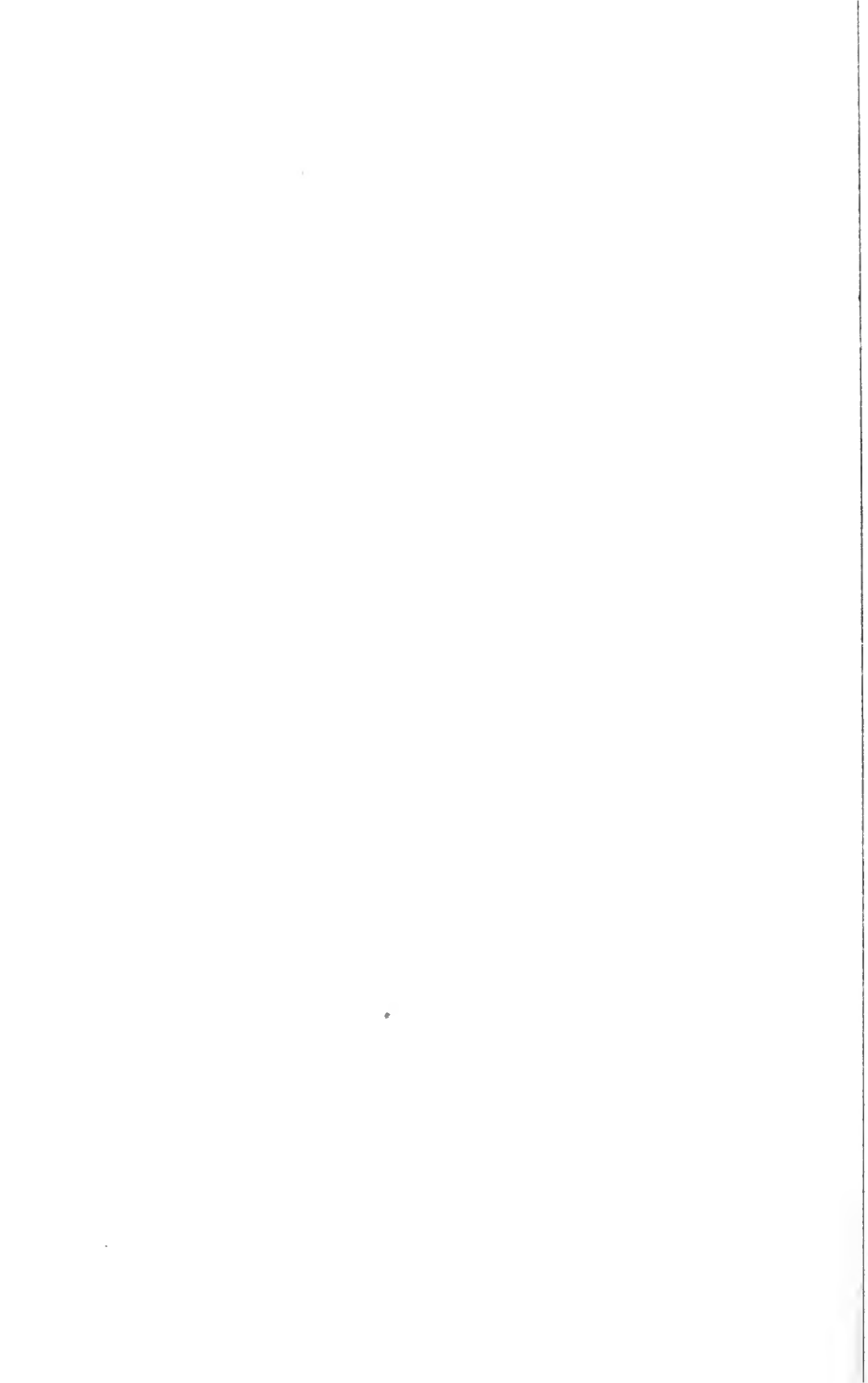
BY W. H. WADHAM POWELL.

PERHAPS one of the most charming and interesting walks in the neighbourhood of the north-west part of London is in the direction of the Buckinghamshire village of Cheneys, or Chenies, a place full of memorials of the past, as it hangs over the lovely valley of the Chess, which, by the way, is one of the best trout streams in that part of the county.

With this object then in view, we cannot do better than proceed to Chorley Wood Station, situated on the Great Central and Metropolitan Railway, as our *point d'appui*, and immediately on leaving the station the country in all its



The Manor House, Chenies.
Photograph by William Coles, Watford.



CHENIES AND LATIMERS.

beauty bursts upon us somewhat conspicuously as we ascend the hill in the direction of Chenies. On the right lies Chorley Wood Common, one of the most attractive places of its kind in the country and when covered with the ever-blooming gorse (and when is gorse not in bloom, or kissing out of fashion) is a veritable Field of the Cloth of Gold—especially when the sun

In some green afternoon
Turns towards sunset,
And is loth to die.

The woods, it is true, are just beginning to blazon forth their autumn tints; but overhead there is still an Italian sky, and away over the more distant scene hangs a sort of heat-haze, which,

Like the veil by beauty worn
Hides but to heighten, shades but to adorn,

and one can well sing with the poet:

Of Summer nestling green and glad,
With blossom purpled fair,
Of Autumn's wine-stained mouth, and sad
Wan eyes, and golden hair.

The beauty of the waving wheat has passed away, and in its place are the solid stacks of garnered corn in the farm homesteads, round which the happy hens, accompanied by their young broods, are chuckling with a satisfied delight.

Half an hour or so brings us on towards the pretty little village of Chenies, which is really still much the same as when Anthony Froude used to stay at this "place of rest and peace," as he was wont to call it, for the purpose of fishing in the Chess hard by, putting up at the pleasant little hostel of the "Bedford Arms," embosomed in magnificently large cherry trees—the village he has so charmingly described in his well-known account of *Chenies and the Russell Family*.

There are still a few old half-timbered cottages left in the village, and these are chiefly situated near the village green, but the majority of the present cottages have been erected by the Russell family, from about the year 1852 and onwards, and these can be identified by the carved ducal coronet with B below it, and the date of their erection, which may be looked upon as a hall mark for good design and sound construction.

The whole village is a model of careful keeping in every way, and the gardens of the cottages are now brilliant with

CHENIES AND LATIMERS.

the yellow gold of *Eschscholtzias*, and other bright flowering plants, and are odorous with the scent of stocks and carnations. Roses abound in all directions, and it is a fact that one has to push them aside in order to post one's letters in the village post office.

The season for the cherry blossoms, for which trees Chenies is so famous, is of course over, but the apple trees in every orchard are laden with fruit. The village itself, as has been already mentioned, is still much the same as when Froude described it in such glowing terms. In the centre, on a slope, is the village green and the village water supply, over which eighteen majestic elms throw their shadows and keep it cool even in the hottest weather.

Close at hand is the church, with the Bedford mausoleum attached to it as a north transept. This has been recently rebuilt and apparently enlarged, but all that need now be said on this most copious subject is, that, as Froude so aptly remarks, "to know the biographies of the dead Russells buried at Chenies is to know English history for twelve generations," a task which may be relegated, so far as we are now concerned, to another opportunity—possibly, it may be added, to the Greek Kalends.

This chapel or mausoleum was built by Anne, Countess of Bedford, in 1556. Her mother was a Chenies, and it was through her that the estate came into the Bedford family.

The monument to the Countess is considered on good authority to be one of the finest of its kind in Europe, and we can well call to mind, from having seen it some time since, the great artistic beauty and character of the effigies of the Countess and her husband, and the rich purple tint of the whole monument, owing to the pink veins which meander through the alabaster of which it is composed.

Lord Wriothlesley Russell, a former rector, occupied that position for over half a century, and he was also Canon of Windsor for forty-six years: at his special request he was buried with his parishioners in God's Acre adjoining the church, among the orchards and the meadows, where to-day the sweet sun shines serenely on the modest memorial which has been erected to his memory. His wife, the Lady Wriothlesley, survived him only a month, and, equal in years, in death they were not divided. He died on the 5th of April, and she on the 5th of May, 1886.

In a meadow hard by stands, in a quite jubilant state of

CHENIES AND LATIMERS.

juvenility, the ancestral oak, under whose shadow the Great Queen of the sixteenth century sat, as tradition hath it, when she visited Chenies in 1570, and was entertained there by Francis, Earl of Bedford, whose father, the first Earl, was probably the builder of the old manor-house close to the church, one complete wing only of which, however, is still in existence.

The chimney-stacks are of fine rubbed bricks, which are now of a beautiful mellow crimson colour. They are six in number, and twelve of the chimneys are of different patterns; they are some of the finest specimens of this kind of work now left to us. They are now nearly in as good condition, fair wear and tear excepted, as when the Great Queen of the West sat beside the wood fires kindled in their roomy, built-out, ingle nooks, three centuries and a half ago.

These memories of the past, however, may now be left behind us, and, with

The noise of singing
In the late sweet air,

let us return to the village green, and proceed down the steep hill leading in the direction of Chesham, and flanked by the ancient avenue of majestic elms which still bears the name of "Lady Chenies' Walk."

This magnificent entourage of trees forms an appropriate gateway to the lovely valley of the Chess, which lies below them, and from which rise on either side the wooded hills, which are a portion of the lower spurs of the Chilterns. Silence reigns around, save for the plaintive music of the robin's song and the cooing of the wood-pigeons in the more distant woods.

Through the valley runs the famous trout stream of the Chess, past rich meadows—in which the cattle are peacefully grazing and fulfilling their edible destinies—ever carrying on with it as it flows the yellow border of wild mimulus, which lines its banks for some distance. Here the rooks and the plovers seem to have formed a sort of temporary alliance, and are having a fat time of it among the worms and grubs which abound in these pastures.

A further progress of about a mile up the valley in the direction of Chesham, brings us to a turning which leads across the river, over a modern brick and stone bridge, which hardly harmonizes with the surrounding landscape. Just above this bridge the Chess, or a portion of it, has been dammed up

CHENIES AND LATIMERS.

so as to form a pool, where, among the reeds and the loosestrife which line the banks, shy moor-hens are darting about as is their wont. But why were there no water-lilies in that pool?

Below this, the Chess continues its course, and it quite makes one's mouth water to see the trout shooting about in the clear stream, and, as one may say, almost contemptuously ignoring our existence.

From this spot a view is obtained of the house of Latimers, the seat of Lord Chesham. It was to the original Tudor mansion here, then inhabited by William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, that the unfortunate Charles the First was taken for the night of the 15th of October, 1645, after he had fallen into the hands of the Parliamentary army.

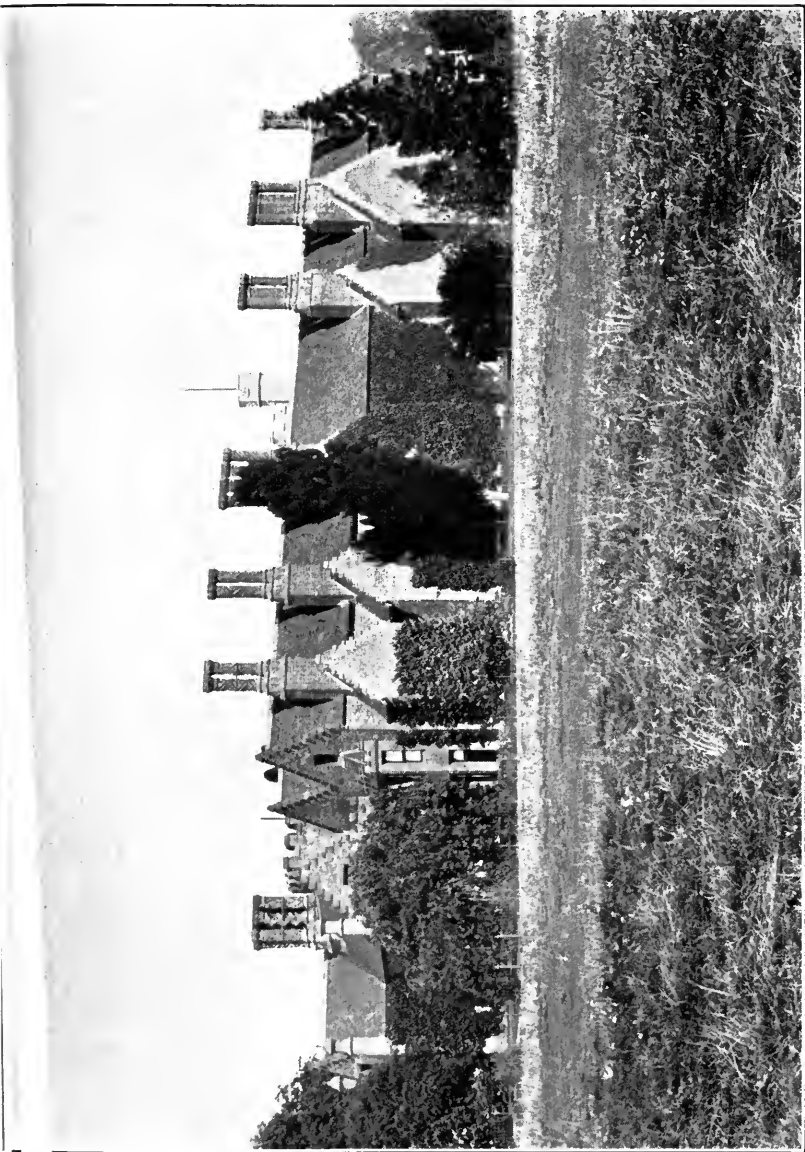
A little further on one comes to the little hamlet of Latimers, which the Post Office authorities have seen fit to call Latimer, consisting of one of the quaintest collections of old-world half-timber cottages, with dormer lattices, that can nowadays be met with. Here they stand, hidden away among the hills and woodlands in this quiet corner of the county, on the road to nowhere—just the sort of place that takes looking for to find. But it is worth the search, for a prettier spot in Buckinghamshire would be hard to meet with.

In the centre of these cottages is a small village green, surrounded by the cottagers' gardens, now bright with asters, phloxes, zinnias, stocks, and last, but by no means least, some lovely roses, the veritable last Roses of Summer. On the green itself, shadowed by two majestic elms, stands an obelisk of red granite, upon which are inscribed the names of those natives of Latimers and the neighbouring villages who were engaged in the South African War.

The list of these names, some 130 in number, embraces all ranks of the service, and is headed by those of Lord Chesham, Beatrice, Lady Chesham, who acted as nurse, and their son, the Hon. G. W. H. Cavendish, who was killed in the action of Diamond Hill; and it is well that here beneath the ancestral elms of their native land their memories should thus be kept green.

A few yards further up the slope is one of the entrances to the park, close to which are the church and the rectory—the latter a fine old Georgian house—both of which are more or less embosomed in the green foliage of the numerous trees and shrubs which surround them.

The little church is a modern structure, on the site of



The Manor House, Chenies.

Photograph by William Coles, Watford.



CHENIES AND LATIMERS.

another building, surrounded by the churchyard, which is practically a well kept garden lawn, adorned with roses, and other shrubs of a somewhat graver tone and character.

There is some good modern stained glass in the windows of the church; and who would not wish to know something more of the story of romance which must have shadowed the life of that young actress who died at the age of nineteen—whose virtues, whose beauty, whose modesty, and whose graces are so pathetically commemorated in the long and elegant Latin inscription “to these most dear remains,” which was engraved on her monument in the older building, and is signed with the initials “G. D. D.” The date of her death is 1706.

These initials have been assigned on some authority to “George, Duke of Devonshire,” but in 1706, William, the first Duke, was still living. The letters probably stand for “Gulielmus Dux Devoniae.”

The church stands on the slope of the hill, and from this point there is one of the most charming views of this most picturesque valley on the eastern side as can well be wished for. An almost sacred silence, as is meet, pervades the scene. Immediately around are the park lands, graced with ornamental groups of trees, and beyond these lie the more open chalk downs, while, close at hand, on the side of the roadway, are some remarkably fine holly trees, their glossy dark green eaves garlanded with the orange-red boughs of the wild rose trees which have grown to a height of twenty feet or more above the pathway.

On leaving Latimers we went on through the pasture land down the valley, leaving on our left the remains of the old church of Flaunden, and coming presently out on the open down to the tomb of one William Liberty, Brickmaker, of Horley Wood, who, to quote the inscription on the side of the monument, “was, by his own desire, buried in a vault on this part of his estate.” He died in 1777, at the age of 53. This tomb, or monument, is built of good red bricks, which were no doubt some of his own making; they are ornamented with simple mouldings, and surmounted by a stone slab. It seems a singular position for a tomb, out in the open country, as it were; but the surroundings, at any rate, are peaceful, and are very beautiful. William Liberty was probably one of those who, like the Black Douglas of old, would rather have heard the lark sing than the mouse squeak.

CHENIES AND LATIMERS.

Shortly afterwards we came to Dodds Mill, a picturesque spot where the trout were rising to the late afternoon fly, and we could not but call to mind Froude's assertion that a day's fishing at Chenies means "a day by the best water in England, in the fisherman's paradise of solitude"—and long may it remain so.

All around the birds were beginning their evening songs, and, with a last look up the flower-strewn valley, we passed out of it and ascended the hill to Chenies, whence a further walk of about two miles or so brought us back to Chorley Wood Station, with the conviction impressed upon us, on the whole, that Andrew Lang has cleverly summed up the situation, when he writes in one of his charming *vers de société*:

And better a crust and a beaker of beer,
With rose-hung hedges on either hand,
Than a Palace in Town, and a Prince's cheer,
When fans for a penny are sold in the Strand.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

UNPUBLISHED MSS. RELATING TO THE HOME COUNTIES IN THE COLLECTION OF P. C. RUSHEN.

1668, November 4.—Draft covenant to levy a Fine, between Hart Browning of London, grocer, brother and heir of John Browning, late Citizen and Grocer of London, deceased, and Mary wife of the said Hart, of the one part, and John Bartholomew, Citizen and Distiller of London, of the other part. Whereby, in consideration of money paid by Bartholomew to Browning for the purchase, the latter covenants to levy a fine to Bartholomew of a messuage on the west side of Bishopsgate St., in the parish of St. Ethelburga, next to a messuage called the King's Head on the north, and a messuage called The Three Crowns on the south, which messuage, the subject of the Fine, was thentofore known as The Sugar Loaf, but then as The Still and Tobacco Roll, and was thentofore occupied by Richard Kirby, later by Edward Hill, and then by the said Bartholomew; said to be settled in jointure upon Rebecca Browning, relict of said John Browning, for her life; to the use of said Bartholomew and his heirs.

1670, May 25.—Draft bargain and sale by Thomas Sanders of London, gent., son and heir of John Sanders, late of London, deceased, to George Gilbourne of London, gent., of the freehold of several messuages in or near Fetter Lane and Flower-de-Luce Court, in the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West, occupied by John Gale, blacksmith, John Godschall, curryer, Matthew Huffield, imbroiderer, Robert Roads, wyer-drawer, William Garland, paynter, William Dod, victualler, John Tillear, tallowchandler, Mary Skinner, widow, John Smyth, distiller, John Throckmorton, vintner, John Smith, cook, John Haslewood, vintner, Thomas Hill, victualler, Thomas Lane and John Guillym, coffeesellers, Abraham Wicks, mealman, Danyel Franklyn, girdler, Robert Archer, haberdasher, Nicholas Smith,

NOTES AND QUERIES.

barber, Edward Shaw, gent., John Nelmcs, glasier, Edmund Garret, haberdasher, Samuel Cox, goldsmith, Elizabeth Hoskins, widow, Ellen Costen, widow, William Randall, cutler, — Hawthorne, widow, Arthur Wakefield, glasier, Christopher Lingard, bookbinder, William Brand, goldsmith, and Thomas Henley, taylor; And all those messuages, tofts and pieces of land, &c., in or near the same place, in the occupation of the said Sanders; To the intent to make the said Gilbourne tenant of the freehold, in order to suffer a Common Recovery, etc.

1670, January 20.—Draft covenant to levy a Fine, by John Brett of The Middle Temple, gent., son of Thomas Brett, late of Snave, co. Kent, gent., deceased, and Elizabeth, wife of the said John, to Thomas Major the younger, and Thomas Major the elder, of London, Gentlemen, of a messuage and 3 pieces of land containing 13 acres, near the said messuage, lying in Wallond and Rumney Marshes, in the parish of New Rumney, co. Kent, once occupied by Fortune Terry and then by said John Brett, and two pieces of land known as Rydes Marsh, containing 10 acres, and two pieces of land containing 8 acres, which 4 pieces are in Wallond and Rumney Marshes, in the parishes of New and Old Rumney and Ivy Church, once occupied by the said Terry, then by the said John; To the use of the Majors for their joint lives, remainder to such person as Major the younger should by deed or will appoint.

1671, October 20.—Draft covenant between Stephen Scott of St. Michael's, Cornhill, London, Gent., brother of John Scott, late of Langley, in the parish of Beckenham, co. Kent, esq., deceased, son and heir of Sir Stephen Scott of Hayes, Kent, knight, of the first part, William Butler of St. Michael's, apothecary, and William Flower of St. Olave's, Hart St., London, gent., of the 2nd part, and Luke Astrey, esq., of the 3rd part. Whereby Butler and Flower covenanted to allow Astrey to sue out a Recovery against them of a mansion house, crop and brook, all adjoining, called Barnebrooke, containing 2 acres, and 5 acres adjoining, called Beanefield, 2 acres adjoining the latter, called Sandbrooke, 2 acres adjoining the last, called Short Farrowes, 2 fields, called Legates and Bards, adjoining the highway opposite Beanefield, containing 8 acres, a 2 acre close, called Hearnecrop, adjoining Baston Heath, a meadow and another piece of land, called Unisons and Unisons mead, Gibbons and Deepe mead, containing together 18 acres, and 1 acre called Norwoodfeild, adjoining the highway, 4 fields called Bradleys, containing 15 acres, and 1 feild of 4 acres, called Haysfordfeild, in the parish of Bromley, Kent, all (except the last) in Hayes, once occupied by John Boadle and then by the widow Ingram; also a messuage in Hayes, once occupied by Thomas Bennett and Bartum Jenk, and then by John Miles; all which premises had been purchased by the said Sir Stephen from Robert Kitchell, yeoman; also a piece of land 50 ft. long and 50 ft. broad, in Hayes, purchased by the said Sir Stephen from Robert Onsted; also several pieces of land, called Hayesfeild meade, Periss Ridden otherwise Peress Ridden, containing 12 acres, in Hayes, once occupied by William Richbell the father, afterwards by Richard Smith, and then by John Miles, purchased by the said Sir Stephen from Christopher Allanson, gent.; also a messuage called The Newhouse, and 1 garden croft and 2 acres, in Hayes, once severally occupied by John Woodward and Widow Browne, later by Humphrey Walwyn, later by the said Sir Stephen, and then by Edmond Scott, gent., one moiety of which last premises was purchased by the said Edmond Scott from Robert Unett, gent., and the other moiety by the said Sir Stephen from the said Unett; All by the name etc. of 2 messuages, 2 gardens, 1 dovehouse, 20 acres of land, 57 acres of meadow, 35 acres of pasture, 2 acres of wood, 50 acres of furze and heath, and common of pasture for all cattle in Hayes, Bromley, Keston and Farnborough; To the intent of docking all estates tail and to the use of the said Stephen Scott and his heirs.

1672, May 3.—Draft covenant to levy a fine by Samuel Howard, Citizen and Haberdasher of London and Rebecca his wife, and John Jourdan of St. Andrew's, Holborn, co. Middlesex, bricklayer, and Alice his wife, to Alexander Orpwood, Citizen and Dyer of London, of certain messuages and a toft of ground on the west

NOTES AND QUERIES.

side of Bolt Court, St. Dunstan's in the West, London, whereupon 2 messuages formerly stood, severally occupied by John Wolstancroft and John Bowden, Citizens and Merchant Tailors of London; which premises Wolstancroft then lately bought of Samuel Howard, and since agreed to be conveyed by Jourdan and others to Orpwood and his heirs; To the use of Orpwood and his heirs.

EDMOND HALLEY JUNIOR, SURGEON, R.N.—Let me call attention to some of the very few known facts about the astronomer Halley's only maturing son, Edmund Halley junior, who was born *circa* 1700. He entered the royal navy as a surgeon, May 8, 1732, on *H.M.S. Dursley*; but quitted on January 15, 1733. Next we find him on half-pay from February 21, 1733, till September 13, 1739. Then he re-entered the service (September 14, 1739), on *H.M.S. Bristol*. The last entry appears under date August 8, 1740, and mentions his wife Isabella, as executrix, although we know that her name was "Sybilla."

The foregoing items were taken from the Admiralty archives in the Public Record Office, where has also been discovered an old book relating to the *Bristol*, which contains an entry, dated February 7, 1740, that Surgeon Halley was struck off the muster-roll; his name is marked "DD," which appears to mean "discharged, dead." The *Bristol* was then at Portsmouth, fitting out to join Admiral Vernon in the West Indies. His will was proved by his widow Sybilla, at London, five days later (February 12, 1740-1). In the Calendar of Wills at Somerset House, the word "Kent" is written in the margin, and the abbreviation "pts," indicating perhaps that his domicile was in Kent and that he had died beyond the seas, *in partibus*. Perhaps some member of the Navy Records Society may know or be able to discover the burial-place of Surgeon Halley. The parish clerk of Portsea says there is no record of his burial there.

Surgeon Halley, then of Greenwich, aged 40, married May 4, 1738, Mrs. Sybilla Freeman (? *née* Stuart), widow, also of Greenwich, aged 40. The marriage took place in the Chapel of Morden College, at Blackheath. The bride seems to have had at least one daughter (Mary) and probably another (? Sarah) by her previous marriage, for in her own will, as of East Greenwich, widow (1772), she mentions her two granddaughters, Sybilla Parry and Sarah Parry. We find also the record of the marriage at Morden College, of John Parry of the parish of St. Mildred, Bread Street, London, and Mary Freeman, of Greenwich, July 31, 1744. They had in addition to the two daughters, Sybilla and Sarah Parry, one son, John. The point most at issue with the present writer is the existence and identity of Mrs. Sybilla Freeman's other (supposed) daughter, Sarah Freeman, who is believed to have been the Mrs. Sarah Day, widow, of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, who, in 1746, married William Pyke. If so, there should be some record of the birth of a son, James Pyke, *circa* 1750, and of a daughter who married a "Macdonald from

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Ireland," (? *circa* 1770). Mrs. Sybilla Halley's granddaughter, Sybilla Parry, married a Soper, and was living *circa* 1795, when she is mentioned in the will of her step-mother, Anne Parry, the second wife and widow of John Parry, senior. I am indebted to Mr. R. J. Beever, M.A., and to Lt.-Col. G. S. Parry, for the above facts.

There should be further facts about Surgeon Halley obtainable somewhere, and it would be interesting to know more about him. Examination of a bunch of surgeons' certificates, under initial letter "H," in the Public Record Office, failed to reveal his. Study of the Log-books of the *Dursley* and the *Bristol* (1739-1740) on which he served, according to the record, did not develop any entry of his name.—EUGENE FAIRFIELD MACPIKE. 1, Park Row, Chicago, U.S.A.

LAMPLANDS.—The writer of the interesting article on "The Townlett Selfe of Wendover," quoting, says [*ante*, p. 18]: "In 1552 the King granted an acre of land called Lampland . . . given to maintain a light in the church, also the roods of arable for maintenance of a light there, habend. to them and to their heirs and assigns. . . for ever in free soccage of the Manor of East Greenwich by fealty only." But the Rector of Wendover could give no clue to the date of cessation. May I state for general information that the lands referred to were given before the Reformation for the maintenance of lights at certain altars in the church. As the acre of land had acquired the title of "Lampland," it indicates a gift of considerable antiquity, since the donor's name was lost in the use to which the rent was applied. At the Reformation every such light was considered an idolatrous practice, and all "Lamplands" were forfeited to the state, as were also the lands and belongings of all monasteries, colleges, free chapels, chantries, fraternities, brotherhoods, gilds, stipendiaries, obits, and anniversaries. The story of these lands and their seizure is an interesting one, for nearly every village and church was affected. Unfortunately it yet remains to be written, though in a few instances a commencement has been made—I say "unfortunately," for the want of such a history has led and still leads to so many misleading statements. The general impression is that the Dissolution of the monasteries, colleges, etc., was but a means for enriching a "dissolute King and his greedy courtiers;" but that impression is entirely wrong. The Dissolution was part of a huge scheme of reform which Henry did not live to see accomplished. New sees and cathedrals were endowed, hospitals for the sick, the aged poor, and others, were reorganized and grammar schools were refounded. In many instances gilds were allowed to redeem the property held by them in trust, the amount of the fine varying according to the extent of the "idolatrous use:" for instance, the fine to redeem land left to maintain a chantry priest would be less if the priest were required to act as schoolmaster. Lastly, or perhaps I should say first of all, the

NOTES AND QUERIES.

lawyers and officials on whom the burden of the work fell had to be paid; may be these were the greedy courtiers.

As regards the grants of land, such grants may have been leases, at rack rent or otherwise; sales in return for full value; grants on payments of fines; or grants for special purposes. Some writers erroneously treat all alike as gifts, but the fact remains that when the residue was sold, more than a century later to pay the debts of the dissolute monarch (Charles II by the way, not Henry VIII), the grants were so numerous that the mere index fills two large volumes.

Those who desire to investigate the whole subject of the carrying out of the Dissolution will find full and minute details at the Record Office. I commend to their attention the returns of the Commissions of 37 Henry VIII, the detailed accounts under the same Commission (Rentals and Surveys), the returns of the Commission of 2 Edward VI, the appendices thereto, and the particulars for the sale of the colleges, chantries, etc., these last are less known and chiefly affect our villages and rural churches.—L. M. BIDEN.

THE RUSHEN MSS.—Mr. P. C. Rushen, whose MSS. are well known to readers of the *Home Counties Magazine*, wishes to dispose of his collection. It comprises nearly 5,000 items, ranging in date from 1300 to 1850, and of widely varied interest. Further details can be obtained from Mr. Rushen, whose address is 7, Warwick Mansions, Warwick Court, High Holborn.—EDITOR.

HILLINGDON.—There is a house or farm at Hillingdon known as Hercies Manor or Hersey Farm. Can any one tell me how and when it got its name?—C. J. HERSEY.

SCATCHERD.—I shall be glad of any information concerning a Rev. Mr. Scatcherd, probably born about 1700. He married a Miss Stapilton before 1734, probably in London or the neighbourhood.—W. P. B.

REPLIES.

GEORGE BORROW.—The London County Council has recently affixed a memorial tablet at No. 13, Hereford Square, South Kensington, where George Borrow once lived.

PRITTLEWELL CHURCH, ESSEX (vol. xi, p. 280).—The following note from the will of Richard Frende of "Pritwell," dated August 24, 1500, may be of interest as touching the history of the above church.

"My body to be buried in the chapell of Jhesus by the lower

REPLIES.

steppe in Pritwell beforeseid. Item, I bequeith to the high Awter of the same church of Pritwell beforeseid for my tithes forgotten and negligently withdrawen vjs. viij*d*. Item, I bequeith to the newe making of the sowthe side of the same church, and if the parisshe be disposed to make it within the space of x yers next commyng after my decesse, vj*l*. vjs. viij*d*. to be paide to the werkmen by the handys of myne executors after the beginning of the same werke before it be all made. Item, I bequeith to the maynetaunce of Jhesus Masse in the same church xs. Will proved December 2, 1500. [P. C. C. 13 Moone.]

WIX OR WYKES, ESSEX (vol. xii, p. 321).—In reply to Mr. Rainsford it is a simple matter to compile a list of post-Reformation vicars. The records of the First Fruits Office will supply the information for the trouble of a search. The Composition Books begin in 1535, and the Bishops' Certificates in the reign of Elizabeth; these are at the Record Office. For earlier vicars the Bishop of London's Registers should contain all the institutions, but such Registers are troublesome to search and in some Dioceses heavy fees are charged.—EDITOR.

OPEN-AIR STATUES.—I wish to thank many of your readers for useful suggestions and additions to my list of Open-Air Statues in London. I shall be grateful for any information which will fill up some of the blanks and queries in my list printed in the December issue of the *Home Counties Magazine*. I hope at some time to be able to produce a supplementary article on this subject.—T. W. HILL.

REVIEWS.

OLD ENGLISH HOUSES: The Record of a Random Itinerary. By Allan Fea. Martin Secker; pp. 273; 10s. 6*d*. net.
NOOKS AND CORNERS OF OLD ENGLAND. By Allan Fea. Martin Secker; pp. 274; 5s. net.

A new book by Mr. Fea, on a subject which he has made peculiarly his own, is a source of congratulation to all lovers of the picturesque in England. *Old English Houses* therefore is as welcome as its predecessors. *Nooks and Corners* is a new edition, in itself a good sign of increasing public interest in the preservation of our remaining old houses and churches. For Mr. Fea is the sworn foe of "restoration," at any rate, as it was understood until recently. Not that the curse of the fashionable architect is entirely removed; not that bishops, or chancellors, or clergy, are one whit more reverent or conservative as to the sacred buildings under their charge; but the public has taken alarm at the wanton destruction of so much that was beautiful and characteristic of English art, and the parsons must perforce take heed.

To this desirable end Mr. Fea has contributed much, and his new volume continues the good work. The Random Itinerary starts in Bucks, deals with Berks and Oxfordshire, turns east into Beds, Herts, Middlesex and Essex, crosses the

REPLIES.

Thames into Kent and Surrey, and winds up with Sussex and Hants—ample material for the hundred illustrations, and with such a guide it would be difficult to find a more delightful route. Guide he certainly is, yet here is nothing of the ordinary guide-book. For, in addition to being a keen observer, Mr. Fea is both antiquary and historian; and though neither cult is obtruded, the fact is clear on every page. Those scraps of historical and archaeological learning, deftly dropped into place, are the result of study and research, not, as is too often the case, mere siftings from the literary dust-bin. Much patient work has gone to the making of these pages, lightly and easily as they read; so that as reference books, part of that growing library of sound topographical work, we give a high place to Mr. Fea's books. *Nooks and Corners* deals with Norfolk, Suffolk, and the Midland counties, with a touch of Yorkshire thrown in. There are many touches of genuine humour. The idea of Guy Fawkes as "the first Quaker" is delicious, while the inn yard where "Henry VIII addressed the Romans" should surely have a County Council Tablet to record the fact. We must record a sceptical feeling as to some of the dungeons and underground passages, though as evidence of local tradition they may be worth noting. Both volumes are profusely illustrated and have good indexes.

A HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN LONDON, arranged to illustrate the course of Architecture in England until 1800, with a sketch of the preceding European styles. By Walter H. Godfrey, with a Preface by Philip Norman, LL.D., F.S.A. Batsford; pp. xxiii, 390; 7s. 6d. net.

A good idea, well carried out. Instead of the usual guide-book arrangement of districts, we have all our interesting buildings grouped together under architectural periods, while a series of maps enables the explorer to deal with particular localities if he wish to do so. The maps, by the way, are a curious mixture of past and present; the first one shows Kingsway and Aldwych, but gives Lincoln's Inn and the Rolls Office as they were some thirty or forty years ago. The general introduction on the differences of construction of classical and gothic architecture, with the consequent differences of style, is a singularly lucid explanation of a principle often forgotten; it will be useful to the student as well as the amateur. The wealth of architectural examples in and near London is truly remarkable. Even after the havoc of the Great Fire and the incalculable destruction that has taken place for "improvements" during the last century, there is not a period, hardly, indeed, a sub-division or variation of any period, that cannot be illustrated by some existing building; there is much to lament, there is also much to be thankful for. To the casual visitor Mr. Godfrey's book will add a new charm to sight-seeing, and the Londoner, who, as a rule, knows very little of London, may perhaps be induced by it to explore. The illustrations and plans are numerous and well chosen, and altogether the book is a welcome addition to the metropolitan library.

WESTERHAM AND ITS SURROUNDINGS; a Guide to Wolfe-Land. By Gibson Thompson, with an Introduction by Lt.-Col. C. A. Madan Warde, D.L., J.P. Fourth edition. The Homeland Association; pp. 110; 1s. net.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER	245
ESSEX VISITATIONS, 1297	254
A BYGONE CHILDHOOD	263
THE HAYMARKET, LONDON	268
THE SURREY TYPE OF VILLAGE CHURCHES	280
CHALFONT ST. GILES AND MILTON	284
HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE	289
THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX .	298
CANONBURY TOWER	302
SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY . . .	309
KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOSPITAL, 1605	316
NOTES AND QUERIES	319
REVIEWS	321

NOTICES.

It is particularly requested that all communications for the Editor be addressed to him *by name* at 5, Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. All communications for the Publishers should be sent direct to them.

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224



Canonbury Tower.
Drawn by Frank Esam.

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN DOVER. (Known as St. Martin New-Work.)

BY J. TAVENOR-PERRY.

WHEN the writer of this article first visited Dover for a lengthened stay, now between sixty and seventy years ago, it still retained much of its old-world aspect; and as the South-Eastern Railway had then only just been completed to London, the modernization of the town, with the destruction of much that was ancient and interesting in it, had only just begun. The circuit of the medieval walls was still to be traced, and several of the gates and towers had been but recently destroyed, while the little river Dour, from which Dover takes its name, still pursued its open course into the Pent. The harbour itself was only approached through two antiquated wooden piers, at the head of one of which was a mysterious arrangement of cog-wheels and sluices in a reservoir which occasionally flushed out the shingle-encumbered passage. The Admiralty Pier was not begun, and the harbour of refuge was a distant dream which has only been realized in this century; no railway encroachments prevented one from wandering along the foreshore to the foot of the then lofty Shakespeare's Cliff, "whose high and bending head" toppled down headlong in 1847. In the centre of the town stood the butter-market, erected in the time of James I on the site of the ancient market cross, and, raised above it on wooden posts, some carved work of which is worthily preserved in the Museum, was the picturesque Town-hall. At the side of the market-place, and towering above the houses round it, was the great apsidal end to the choir of St. Martin-le-Grand, denuded of all its wrought stonework, and showing a black mass of flint rubble walling. Although but little except this rose stood much above the ground, the plan of the church was still evident; the nave used as a parish cemetery, the south transept was the saw-pit of a builder named Fagg, and the north transept, then known as "Tavenor's Gardens," had

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

been used as the private burying-place of the Tavenor family since it had been acquired for that purpose by Samuel Tavenor, the Cromwellian Captain of Deal Castle. In 1891 the ruins of the apse were blown up to effect some fancied improvement, and the resting-place of the Tavenors was desecrated by being buried under the stables erected for a neighbouring grocer.

In those long past days people were permitted to wander freely about the Western Heights and the Castle Hill without being regarded as German spies, and could contemplate the magnificent panorama to be seen from the summit of the Castle keep, including a view of the three kingdoms which the custodian would explain to be the Kingdom of England at our feet, the Kingdom of France across the water, and the Kingdom of Heaven over our heads! But although novel restrictions prevent us from seeing a great deal we might like to see, we are to-day spared the sight of the imprisoned debtors sitting in the embrasures of the Fulbert Tower, who, by a string rigged up across the castle-ditch, rang a bell over a wayside alms-box to solicit a dole from the passers-by; and we have no longer to witness the scandal of the Roman Pharos and the British-Saxon church of St. Mary-in-Castro serving as the garrison coal-store.

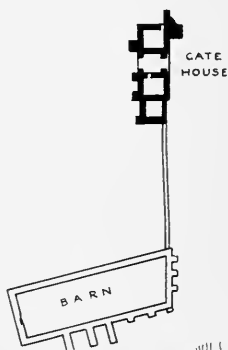
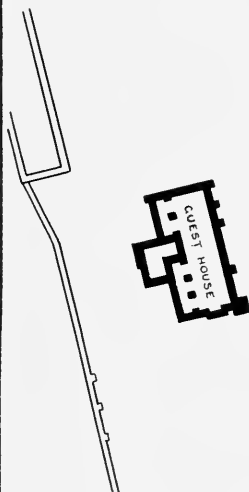
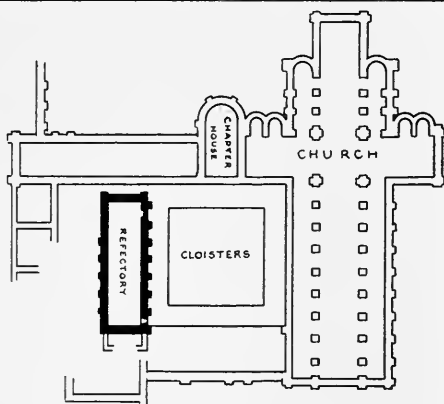
Just outside the boundary of the old town walls and the Biggingate (pulled down in 1762 and named after a Beguinage which once stood near by) were the extensive remains of St. Martin's Priory, then unencumbered by any modern buildings, save the farm-house and sheds of Mr. Coleman, who occupied the site, and retaining in 1845 all the distinguishing marks of its ancient use. Its position was near the angle of two old Roman roads from Dover, the one in a north-westerly direction leading to Canterbury and London, and the other at right angles to it going southwards to *Portus Lemanis* and *Anderida*; while branching from the former road a little further along went a third road northwards to *Rutupiae* and *Regulbium*.

The great Priory church had been pulled down to the ground level, but its outlines, together with those of the chapter-house and the undercroft of the dormitory, were distinctly traceable, while large masses of rubble walling and other remains were scattered over its site. To the north of the nave, the cloister square and the west walk of the cloister, with some buildings adjoining it, still showed above the soil; and to the north again of these stood the refectory, complete

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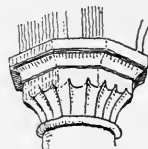


VOUSSOIR OF LINTEL ARCH



ARMS OF THE PRIORY

APPROXIMATE SCALE OF PLAN
10 0 10 20 40 60 80 100 120



CAP IN GUEST HOUSE

7P

St. Martin's Priory, Dover.
Plan of Remains about 1845.



THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

save for its patched roof, and serving for a barn, with some remains of the kitchen at its west end. Well to the west of this group of ruins stood the Priory Gateway, in a dilapidated condition, which still served as the gateway to the Priory farm, while further to the west, at an angle of the enclosing wall, was a large stone-built barn, still fulfilling the useful purpose for which it was first erected. Further north was an important building of considerable architectural pretensions, which was then used as a cart-shed and granary, while in the open space between this and the gateway remained the great Priory pond, still retaining some fish, descendants it may be of medieval forbears, for the amusement of the local anglers. The whole area of the site was surrounded by substantial walls, such as that on the south side shown in a drawing made in 1760, which forms one of the plates illustrating Darell's *History of Dover Castle*, and which remained also on the east side enclosing the Priory Meadow, as it was then called, which was used in 1839 for the festivities in connection with the inauguration of the Duke of Wellington as the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

The first attack of the Philistines on the venerable ruins commenced about 1845 with the building of a row of houses along the south side, which encroached on the nave, facing the old Roman road to *Lemanum*, now known as the Folkestone Road. Fortunately, just at this juncture, Canon Plumtre, on a visit to Dover, had his attention called to the ruins, and then and in one or two later visits he was enabled, and the calculating builder even assisted him, to plot down a complete plan of the church and its adjacent buildings, which he eventually published in the, now somewhat rare, fourth volume of the *Archaeologia Cantiana*. In the next year the row of houses was continued eastwards over parts of the south transept and choir, while another street, now known as Ingham Street, was formed from south to north, cutting across the transepts, chapter-house, and dormitory.

It is worth while to notice here the singular coincidence in the fates which overtook this and the great abbey church of St. Martin at Tours. In the times of the great revolution the latter church was destroyed and a new street laid out across the site from east to west; another would have been completed across the transepts but for the solid mass of the Tour de l'ermagne, which blocked the north end and defied their axes; fortunately dynamite, to which alone it might

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

have yielded, was at the time unprocurable. In 1861 the people of Tours, regretting their hasty vandalism, sought to make reparation for the mischief done by closing the revolutionary street and commencing the reconstruction of their abbey church; but hitherto the Dover people have failed to imitate their worthy repentance.

During the next two or three years Saxon and Norman Streets were built, and the whole of the eastern part of the site, including the Priory Meadow, was covered with houses; and presently came the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, with its "Priory Station" to the westwards, and the grip of the Philistine tightened. In 1868, Mr. Steriker Finnis acquired all the uncovered portion of the property, still occupied as a farm; and although, in a most praiseworthy manner, he provided for the preservation of the Refectory, the Gateway, and the Guest-House, the estate was laid out with new roads, the ancient barn was pulled down, and the Priory pond was filled up. Whether the last was dragged or properly examined no one seems to remember, which is a pity, since strange fish are sometimes caught in monastic ponds, as witness the eagle found in the pond of Newstead Abbey which now serves as the lectern in Southwell Minster. Fortunately at the time of the rearrangement of the site the Refectory and Gateway passed into the hands of Mr. Robert Chignell, who resided in one of the larger adjoining houses on the Folkestone Road; he did a certain amount of reparation to these buildings, though no more than was necessary for their maintenance, and he afterwards transferred them to the Council of the Dover College, by whom the Refectory was re-roofed and thoroughly restored, to be used as the great hall of the College.

Having now described the state to which the remains of the Priory of SS. Mary and Martin, and its predecessors in title, St. Martin-le-Grand and St. Mary-in-Castro, were reduced during the last century, it is necessary to take up the history of the foundations before we enter on an architectural description of the buildings.

The history and description of the fabric of St. Mary-in-Castro are given very fully by the Rev. John Puckle in his illustrated work *The Church and Fortress of Dover Castle*; and a learned archaeological paper dealing chiefly with its Roman and Saxon remains was read by the late John Henry Parker before the Kent Archaeological Society on the occasion of their meeting at Dover in 1875.

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

Darell states that the British king Lucius first built and fortified the church on the top of the hill in 161, providing it with three priests who were maintained by a toll on the shipping; and that Augustine reconsecrated the church to the Blessed Virgin, while Eadbald, the son of St. Ethelbert, after his reconversion from the heathendom into which he had lapsed, by the advice of St. Lawrence of Canterbury, founded in connection with it, a college of six canons and a provost in a building near Colton's Gate. In consequence of the scandal, real or imaginary, of these canons living among the garrison, Witred, King of Kent, shortly before his death in 725, removed the foundation to a site within the town, increasing the number of canons to twenty-four, for whom he built new houses and a church dedicated to St. Martin, giving them for their support increased dues upon the shipping, a grant which was confirmed, later on, by Canute.

Such is the history of the foundation of the great church and college of St. Martin-le-Grand as related by Darell, but from other sources we learn that three chaplains were retained to serve the Castle church under very strict rules, two of whom continued to live in the Canons' Tower and the other in Colton's Tower. They served the three altars in the church; the first sang mass at the high altar before the governor, another at the north altar of the holy relics at nine o'clock for the garrison, and the third, an hour later, at St. Mary's altar for the marshaldmen and officers.

To the new foundation of St. Martin-le-Grand were transferred all the franchises and privileges enjoyed by that in the Castle. It was to be subject to no prelate or ordinary, but to be esteemed as the King's Chapel and to be subject only to his jurisdiction; it is mentioned as having had also the singular honour of starting the mass before any other church in the town, no other being allowed to commence until the bell of St. Martin's gave the signal. How far these special privileges included sanctuarial rights it would be interesting to discover, having regard to subsequent events; but the protecting cloak of St. Martin implied sanctuary.

From the great size of the church and the character of its remains, it is evident that it was rebuilt soon after the Conquest and under foreign influence; the earlier one having probably perished when the town was set on fire by William's Norman followers. It consisted of a nave 110 feet long, and choir 93 feet long, terminating in an apse, from which pro-

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

jected three apsidal chapels; the transepts were aisleless, and there was a tower at the crossing 35 feet square. The west front seems to have abutted on the town wall, and on each side of it was one of the town gates, that to the north known as St. Martin's Gate, and that to the south known as Cow Gate, which was only removed in 1776.

After having endured for nearly a thousand years according to tradition, or for at least half that period according to history, this ancient college, associated with the legends of British Christianity as well as with the mission of St. Augustine, fell before Norman rapacity and monkish jealousy. The foreign bishops and the religious orders both looked askance on these secular foundations, and calling their wealth ill-gotten and their liberty license, combined for their suppression. The Dover case may have seemed aggravated by the independence of the Dover burghers and their dislike to their foreign masters, for the incident of Eustace of Boulogne's outrage under the Confessor was not then forgotten, and some living may have witnessed the burning of the town by the Norman knights, while the sympathies of the Canons would necessarily be with their fellow townsmen. Their destruction was due, and the psychic moment arrived on May 4, 1130, when Henry I and all the bishops, with David, King of Scotland, were present at the dedication festival of Canterbury Cathedral, and Archbishop William de Corbeil preferred his request to the King for the dissolution of the ancient foundation and for the sequestration of its revenues.

This William de Corbeil, who, judging from his name, was a Norman importation, attached himself early in his somewhat adventurous life to the notorious Ralph Flambard, and his association with this man must have influenced his subsequent career, and, perhaps, induced that fondness for bricks-and-mortar which afterwards distinguished it. Flambard, who, by the grace of William Rufus and a timely present of a thousand pounds, became Bishop of Durham in 1099, was the son of Thurstan, a village priest of Bayeux, while his mother was reputed to be a witch, familiar with demons. His brother Fulcher was the equally infamous Bishop of Liseux; and he had a son, Elias, who succeeded him in his stall at Lincoln, and another one, Thomas, for whom he tried to procure Fulcher's bishopric on the death of that worthy. From 1095 he had practically the kingdom in his keeping, leaving the sees vacant, Canterbury among them, and holding himself at

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

one time sixteen cathedrals, abbeys, and churches without appointment. But he went too far, even for Rufus, and was committed to the Tower, whence, by making his keepers drunk, he escaped to Normandy, and was only permitted to return after years of exile to end his days, in the odour of sanctity, at Durham in 1128. Strange to say, he was a great builder, and to him or to his influence are due the naves of the priory at Christchurch (Twynham) and Durham Cathedral, Norham Castle, Mottisford Priory and Kepyner Hospital, Durham.

Frightened perhaps by his patron's behaviour and fate, or seeing no prospect of promotion in that quarter, William de Corbeil resigned his chaplaincy to Flambard, and entered a convent of Augustinian Canons Regular, and later, at the request of Richard de Beaumes or Belmeis, Bishop of London, became Prior of St. Osyth's in Essex, a house which the Bishop had newly founded for that order. It was while he was Prior here that, on the death of Archbishop Ralph d'Escures, he was, in a somewhat dramatic fashion, advanced to the See of Canterbury; and those who have read Carlyle's description, taken from the chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelonde, of the election of Abbat Samson of St. Edmundsbury, given in his *Past and Present*, can well realize the scene. The monks of Christchurch claimed the right of electing the Archbishop, and would in the natural order of things have chosen one of their own order; but monks, just then, were in ill favour, and the King, while not disputing their right to elect, gave them a list of names, from which monks were excluded, to make their selection from. The convent strongly protested against his infringement of their rights and privileges, but, bowing to the inevitable, chose the Prior of St. Osyth's, whose name was in the King's list, as one whose profession was half-way between the secular clergy and the religious orders. Thus by a compromise William de Corbeil became Archbishop of Canterbury, and by compromises he went through the remainder of his somewhat chequered career.

Thurstan, Archbishop of York, had from the first disputed the supremacy of Canterbury, and, having the ear of Pope Calixtus II, was able for a time to induce him to withhold the pallium from William when he first sent to Rome to obtain it; and it was not until after much delay and a second visit to Rome that the new Pope, Honorius II, not only accorded him the pallium, but appointed him his Legate for England.

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

During these wranglings with Thurstan and the delays in Rome, the work of rebuilding Lanfranc's choir at Canterbury, begun by St. Anselm and Prior Ernulph, had been carried on to completion, and it was at its dedication festival that Corbeil made his request to the King for permission to reconstitute the royal foundation of St. Martin-le-Grand. He may have been, and probably was, instigated to make this request by the monks of Christchurch, but he had also his own purposes to serve; the sequel will show, however, that his craft was insufficient to withstand the monks' greed, though these opposing interests had a good deal to do with modifying the scheme for the new foundation.

The possessions of St. Martin-le-Grand at the time of its supercession must have been considerable, since they sufficed for the support of twenty-four canons; among them, at the time of the Domesday Survey, were "ten and a half mills," besides pastures and gardens, and their shipping dues, all of which were doubtless transferred to the New-work; but how far its special privileges could be transferred it is difficult to understand. The new church of SS. Mary and Martin was certainly not free from episcopal visitation, nor could its founder have desired it to be so, and it could scarcely have been a "King's chapel," with the special sanctuarial customs appertaining to such, as at St. Martin-le-Grand in London; and all such privileges would very likely remain attached to the old church which, although the college was suppressed, was not disused until the Reformation. Whencesoever he obtained the funds, Corbeil commenced at once to put in execution his new scheme, and instead of attempting to adapt the old buildings where the site was already hemmed in by existing streets, and where perhaps the unsympathetic townsmen would not have been pleasant neighbours, he selected a new site in the position we have already described, outside the walls.

Although the Benedictines of Christchurch hoped and expected to occupy the new priory buildings on their completion, the Archbishop from the first intended them for the Augustinians, whose order the King had recently introduced into England and made fashionable, and in which he himself was most interested, not only as Prior of St. Osyth's, but because he was at the moment actively engaged in reconstructing in stone the Augustinian Priory of Merton in Surrey, founded by Gilbert Norman and endowed by the King in 1221. After

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER.

his long apprenticeship to Flambard, William was doubtless able to give the general design for the buildings he required, and he was well able to procure workmen from Canterbury and some skilled mason who had served on Ernulph's staff to supervise his work, and, having been granted by the King stone from a quarry at Caen, he at once set to work. The Canterbury monks, if they had possessed the faintest knowledge of ecclesiology, must early have discovered the intentions of the Archbishop, even if he had at first hidden them, when they saw by the plan of the foundations that he ignored the apsidal termination to his choir which, at so much labour and cost, they had just been restoring to their cathedral, and was instead building the square east end which was so distinguishing a mark in the churches of the Austin Canons.

Corbeil must have hurried on his building operations at great speed, for within three years from their commencement he had so far advanced the church and provided conventual buildings, possibly of a more or less temporary character, as to be able to introduce some members of the order on whom he always intended to confer the foundation. Accordingly a few canons from the convent at Merton took possession; but this introduction was violently opposed by the monks, who claimed to have received a grant of the new Priory from the King, and who naturally desired that it should be occupied by those of their own order. To support their claim they prepared to send one of the convent to Rome, and, what was even more to the purpose, they at once dispatched some of their number to turn out the intruders and hold the house by force. Just at this juncture Corbeil lay a-dying, of remorse, it was said, for having been persuaded by Henry of Blois to crown Stephen after he had promised Matilda not to do so; so the Canons lost his active support, and soon disappeared entirely from the story, disputing no further for the house which had been built for them. Henry, however, who had become Papal Legate, took their side, and deciding that the Benedictines were in illegal possession ordered them home again forthwith. But the effort was in vain, for Theobald, Corbeil's successor as Archbishop, after some further disputation, decided finally in favour of the Benedictines, and at once sent back some monks with the Sacrist of Christchurch as their first Prior.

Although after this decision the Benedictines were never again disturbed, there was much friction between St. Martin's and Christchurch relating to the supremacy of the latter and

THE PRIORY OF SS. MARY AND MARTIN, DOVER

its right to appoint the Priors of the former. Appeals were constantly being made to Rome on the subject; and it is said that one was pending at the time of the Reformation, which may be still waiting the decision of the Roman *Curia*.

[To be continued.]

ESSEX VISITATIONS, 1297.

BY CLOTILDA MARSON.

THE lover of history unconsciously hunts the scent of the Golden Age down the receding alleys of past centuries. It is impossible not to long to find some field of ancient days where men and women lived pure and innocent lives, mindful of God and kind to each other. Yet, as we look closely at records, we find always the stains of blood on the page, and in the annals of the Church more evidence of "the outward and visible sign" than "the inward and spiritual grace." Yet there is a century in English history where the life of the nation seemed at a high level, and the reign of Edward I, in that thirteenth century of St. Francis and St. Louis, is one which has less to disappoint research than almost any reign which could be thought of.

The slow task of copying word for word the *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral in 1297* summoned in procession the actors on the vanished stage, embalmed by the careful pains of the ancient scribe. At first the records seem to furnish only a few dry details, but as we looked at them closely we seemed to trace some evidences of village life, varied by interests from without, by labour which was not subdivided, and by prayer which fed on enthusiasm.

The churches visited belonged to manors held by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in Essex, Hertford, and Middlesex, but a glance at the visits made in September and October in Essex are enough to illustrate the life of the time. It may be said, in the words of Thomas Fuller, that before we can get a vivid picture of such far-off days "this bare skeleton of time, place, and person must be fleshed with some pleasant passages."

Essex is still a damp and watery county, as we may gather from the beginning of *Great Expectations*. Yet, as we travel

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

back across the six centuries that divide us from the September day chosen by Dean Ralph Baldock for his departure from St. Paul's, we find that the county grows wetter still. Writing in 1594, old Norden calls the shire "the English Goshen and the fattest in the land," yet, owing to the low places about the creeks, he caught "a moste cruell quarterne fever." A hundred years earlier the Celys of Brytts Place, Essex, sent their wool to Calais in ships manned and floated from river ports like Raynham and Brightlingsea, and little sea-coast villages like Bradwell. Again, in the minute accounts of the manors of St. Paul recorded in 1222 we find manors such as Barling and Thorpe, Kirkby and Tillingham, sending their produce up to St. Paul's in ships, and pasturing mainly sheep because the marshy nature of the ground was not suited for oxen. At Heybridge, near Maldon, on the Blackwater, there was a little house especially for making ewes' cheeses, which was bequeathed in 1301 to Canon Gilbert de Segrave, afterwards Bishop of London. These ewes' cheeses, Norden tells us, were very large, and he says that "of the curdes of the whey they make butter once in the year which serveth the clothier." Natives evidently counted them a delicacy, for George Cely, when on business at Calais in 1480, had "a Essex chesye" sent out to him in the good ship Mary of Raynham. At one time the waters threatened to devour the land altogether, and beyond Walton was the prebend *Consumpta per Mare*, whose drowned church lies hid beneath the waves.

In the *Domesday of St. Paul's* we can read every detail of the daily labours of the villagers grouped round these Essex churches, whose towers served as landmarks to seamen and perches for the many marsh-birds. At Tillingham we read how Richard del Perer got a new little marsh holding, because his old squelchy marsh was spoiled by the coming and going of the Canons. Again, Reynald, son of Walter the chaplain, had, as part of the services he owed, to find a man to open the furrows between the ridges and let away the water. The very names tell the same story, and at Barling we read of Aubrey atte Ponde and elsewhere of families of Moorcok and Marsh.

The oysters off Wallfleet Island, with their very green fins, were highly valued, as were the rare birds called "pints," which settled on Pewel Island and enriched the manor of Oakley, owned by the great Essex family of Montfichet.

But all Essex was not marsh land, and in the days of Edward I a large part of the county was covered with forest;

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

hence we find that owing to his love of hunting the King often came with court and train to the near neighbourhood of our manors of St. Paul. Bishops, as well as kings, loved hunting in those days, so that we are not surprised when we read how in 1278 Edward gave licence for life to William, Bishop of Norwich, to hunt with his own dogs the fox, hare, badger and cat in the forest of Essex, provided he did not take great game or course in the warrens.

When the King was hunting at Fingringhoe he was near to the St. Paul's manors of Thorpe, Kirkby, and Walton, and when he visited his manor of Rayleigh or hunted at Eastwood he was not far from the manors of Barling and Tillingham. It was from Fingringhoe King Edward started on the day his washerwoman wagered against him that she would be "in at the death" and won her wager.

One of the first of the churches visited by Dean Baldock and his attendant canon and scribes was Navestock. This church was so near to London that variety must have come to the villagers in more ways than to the remoter sea-side parishes, but they were also within reach of the great Abbey of Waltham, a working hive of learning, art, and medicine.

The manors of Wickham and Highbridge would benefit by the "Carmes or Maries Men" lately established (1292) at Maldon by Bishop Gravesend of London,¹ who filled his library with beautiful editions of the Bible and trusted to the Carmelite friars to spread its principles. To Thorpe, Kirkby, and Walton the nearest home of learning would be St. Osyth's, the lovely priory of Augustinian Canons, the remains of which are pictured in the *Monasticon*.

In all of these religious houses, and many besides, our Essex villagers of 1297 could hear all the latest foreign news, perpetually trickling in as messengers arrived from Rome with news of the Abbey's business at the *curia*. The world lived on the high road in those days, as M. Jusserand has shown in his *Vie Nomade*, and we may be sure that in every village street knots of men might be seen discussing Pope Boniface's great bull of *Clericis Laicos*, which forbade the clergy to pay taxes. That very January (1297) the question had come up in Parliament, and the clergy had met to consider it at St. Paul's. Many of our Essex men would likely be sailors in the Cinque Ports fleet, and from personal affection would perhaps side with brave King Edward against Archbishop

¹ See Camden Soc., Wills of Bishops Button and Gravesend.

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

Winchelsey and the Pope. Perhaps some of them had witnessed the touching reconciliation between the King and Archbishop Winchelsey which had taken place at Westminster in July, 1297.

Just before the quiet visits to the churches began, fierce war had been raging on the Scottish borders. The great general of the age was King Edward himself, and he was now away in Flanders, busy over his war with France. Wallace had taken this opportunity to rally all his forces, and on September 11 had totally defeated John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and the Treasurer, Cressingham, in the Battle of Stirling. Sir Hugh Cressingham was a Canon of St. Paul's, and we may well fancy that the scribe told the listening villagers how the skin of the proud pluralist had been torn from his corpse and part of it made into a sword-belt for Wallace. Cressingham held a living in Essex, and the horrid tale must have competed in interest with the entry in the roll at Barling of how the best chasuble is gnawed with mice, although of cloth of gold enriched with Saracen work of Arabic characters and precious stones. The mice did much mischief in these parts, and Fuller describes a plague of them which spoiled the crops and had liked to have devoured the land had they not been exterminated by an army of owls.

Pageants brought variety to our villagers, as well as news of the quarrels of Pope and King, of nation and nation. In January, 1297, they might walk to Ipswich to watch the festivities of a week when King Edward's daughter Elizabeth was married to the young Earl of Holland. She was only fifteen, and no doubt it occasioned much interest to the spectators when the motherless and wilful Princess clung to her father and begged not to go to the new home till he could take her himself. After an angry scene in which he threw the coronet of the Princess into the fire, the King gave way. The Earl of Holland started from Harwich without his bride, and merely conveyed his sister-in-law, the Duchess Margaret, to Brussels to her husband the Duke of Brabant. A month before our Essex visitation the girl Countess Elizabeth of Holland had set sail with her father for Flanders, and doubtless many an Essex man went to view the fine gear—the twenty-six horses and the new chariot of the young princess. They would take more interest in observing which of the lords and barons consented to go to the war in Flanders with the King, or to Gascony without him. There was great friction

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

between the King and his lords. Humphrey de Bohun, the Constable, who held so many broad lands in Essex, refused to go to Gascony. To Roger Bigod of Norfolk, the Earl Marshal, Edward said, "By God, Earl, you shall either go or hang." "By God," said Roger, "O King, I will neither go nor hang." At the moment when the visitations were going forward the Earls, with an army of dependents, were arranging in Parliament for the confirmation of the charters to be sealed by Edward at Ghent on November 5, two days after Dean Baldock had got safely back to St. Paul's. In politics then we see our Essex countrymen supporting their lords in maintaining the great principle that redress of grievances must precede grant of supply.

The tenants of St. Paul's manors who took up the "farms" or deliveries of produce to the Chapter's bake-house in Godli-man Street, would no doubt bring back news of the doings in Parliament, as well as much else to stir the hearts of the villagers. A *firma* was food for a single week.

To turn from affairs of state, the church life of the little hamlets seems to have furnished them with interests which saved them from monotony at home, even had their intercourse abroad been less wide than it was.

The scribe usually begins his entries by saying whether or not the churchyard is in good repair. The gates often want mending, which suggests that the whole-hearted attendance of the village, torn then by no unhappy divisions between Church and Dissent, broke rather too rough a way to the village altar. Possibly there may have been some rioting caused by the edict of King Edward which outlawed those clergy who followed Winchelsey in refusing to pay the tax forbidden by the bull *Clericis Laicos*. The font was not then the place for hats and hymn-books, but was almost always furnished with a cover and a key. Moreover, it was necessary to stop the superstitious practice of carrying off the sacramental water and using it as medicine. Much care was taken over this Sacrament and many seem to have been present, for in old "proofs of age" we read again and again how one and another remembers that they held a torch, or laid down a red carpet, or brought to the church the gifts given by the god-parents, or passed them the cup of wine when the service was over, or even admonished the priest—"preste, preste, fond be thi heved"—when he accidentally let the babe slip into the font. The lovely fonts of this period which remain, such as the Seven Sacrament

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

font at Little Walsingham, remind us what scope was given to the village mason and sculptor.

At the entrance to the church is the "decent vessel for holy-water" with which the old *nativa* or neife (female villein) crosses her forehead as she comes in. She cannot read or write, but she knows water washes clean, for it is part of her service to help to prepare the lord's bath when need is. Her first lesson then on coming into church is to wash her soul of sin.

In all the churches we find many images—always the rood across the chancel with the Lord and His Mother and St. John; in two the Saviour with doubting St. Thomas; in twelve the Blessed Virgin; in twelve St. Catherine, and in eleven of these sea-board churches St. Nicholas. There are many more, and they suggest many ideas.

It was a fierce and murderous age, murderous to a degree that no one can realize till he has looked at the old records and studied the fearful rigours of the old law. False coining meant being torn by horses; a law-suit going against one meant that sometimes the officials made the contrary party chew and swallow the seals and parchment; ears were so often cut off as a punishment that it was entered in the Patent Rolls if a horse bit one off by accident—your murderers as often as not were your parish priests. But yet it was an age that could send two kings and three bishops to fetch the ragged hermit from his cell on Mount Murrone and make him Pope Celestine V.¹

Not only was it fierce, but in the long carnage of the early Middle Ages men had turned from the cruelty and the foulness to the one-sided life of the hermit and the monk. To the thirteenth century of St. Francis and St. Louis we owe the re-discovery of the daily virtues of the New Testament, the sanctification of home life.

The scribe usually mentions whether the images are in good repair, and we gather that they were coloured, for in some cases he says that they want re-painting. They must have been a storehouse of village art teaching, for instead of being bought at some London image-warehouse, they would be made and mended in the village, and the *Pictor* who is so repeatedly found in the list of names, would run up the ladder, always mentioned in the inventory, to put a coat of blue on the Virgin's robe, or a touch of gold on her crown.

¹ *The Tombs of the Popes*, p. 57, Gregorovius.

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

Moreover, the village had a living interest in the images. Many an old man's grandfather must have known St. Thomas à Becket, while St. Richard of Chichester, whose relics were preserved at Twyford, had only died in 1253. He had preached a crusade down the east coast, and his memory must still have smelled sweet in men's minds. One parishioner doubtless would remember how he once said Prime himself because he was too kind-hearted to wake the priest, whose turn it was to say it: another would speak of him in this age of wealthy clerics as the Bishop who sold his plate for the poor and ate from common crockery.

After dealing with the images, the scribe tells of biers and coverings for the dead poor. We do not read of nodding funeral plumes, but on one hearse-cloth were embroidered texts from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and there is a special cross which was carried at funerals. From the furnishings for funerals, those sad festivals so beloved of the English poor, we come to the beautiful processional crosses, now of enamel inlaid with stones, now of wood, now with painted staff. These processional crosses remind us of the joy that must have been felt by the parishioners when some greater saint's day came, and they were delivered from their day-works, thanks to kind Mother Church. The happy weeks round Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas, when the customary tenants were not expected to furnish labour, must have sent them off to the priest ready and willing to join in the processions. One parishioner will be holy-water clerk and carry the portable holy-water stoup, one will ring the little bell, a third will help dress the priest in his cope of baudekyn pictured in silk; whilst a fourth will hold the train out of the mud. Another will reach him the ivory comb with which to adjust his hair, and fill the boat with incense which he has furnished as part of his yearly rent.

There was a curious arrangement in most of these Essex churches by which the very sheep and cows in the fields reminded them of the little gray church under the wind-swept hill. The devout dying (as we may learn in Mr. Jessop's *Before the Great Pillage*) were in the habit of leaving sheep and cows, etc., to the Church in their wills. These animals were let out by the Church to the poor, so that one Botilda pays 1s. 4d. a year for eight sheep at Thorpe, towards keeping a light in front of St. Margaret of Antioch; while Milsenta atte Dove-House pays 4d. a year for two sheep. The old church at

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

Thorpe must have been gay with lights, for no fewer than ninety-five separate rents are paid for sheep and cows to furnish wax lights for the church. One hopes that these church-beasts were honoured with some sweet superstition and responded kindly when tutored to play their little part in the Christmas miracle-play which (at least at Glastonbury) saw the animals fall on one knee at the hour when the Lord was born.

Perhaps the most striking thing in the Visitations is the number of books owned by all these village churches. In them we see the school for learning and piety which was to be found in every village, however small. The constant wear and tear of the breviaries, missals, and graduals, must have made it necessary to renew them very often, and we catch a glimpse of the large amount of writing which may, in some cases, have been the work of young lads who were eager to rise in the world, to get *litteratura*, and so cease to be villeins.

Dean Baldock, who is visiting the churches, was himself a literary man, and had penned a history of England from the Flood to his own day, which was submerged for ever in the literary deluge of the Dissolution.

The *collectaria* contained many beautiful collects, in addition to the ones we know so well, and the *Legenda* contained not only lessons from the Bible for Matins but also interesting lessons from the writings of the Fathers. History would be found by the villagers in the *Martilogium*, while the *Omelia* and the *Legenda Sanctorum* contained biography, which made up in mystical teaching for its tendency to merge fact in symbolic meaning. Quaint books like *The Infancy of Christ* or the 15 *Oes* were to be found in these village churches, and this last, which is a collection of English prayers, is an example of the many Englishings of Latin prayers done in this reign, to be found in Wright's *Reliquiae Antiquae*.

Each church had, or was expected to get, Archbishop Peckham's *Constitutions*. These fiery denunciations of corruption must have spoken the truth to every village priest, and as we read them now in Johnson's *Canons of the Church* we feel how the Franciscan Minorite Archbishop had not trodden in vain in the footsteps of St. Francis. But if the church books gave education to the village, the *tabula depicta loco frontalis*, or painted picture instead of an altar-cloth, was a true school of art to every lad of promise. The Reformation and the Puritan Revolution stamped out all traces of this art, but it is very interesting to read of the linen cloth painted with the history

ESSEX VISITATIONS.

of St. Thomas, and the altars of St. Michael and St. Nicholas with pictures *honeste depictis*.

There was a considerable colony in London at this time of merchants from Florence, Lucca, and Siena, so that there was no lack of folk to tell the story of Giotto's new paintings of the story of St. Francis in the Church of the Angels at Assisi or the arena chapel at Padua.

We cannot dwell on all the treasures described in these lists, but we are able through them to picture many an event in village history. A village wedding is going forward. The altar is covered with one of the many lovely frontals so minutely described—perhaps that one which was “fairly sewn with roses,” or the Sunday one of samite, “striped, and sewn with flowers”—whether these or that other which was made gay with birds, we cannot say, but none of those described sound anything but beautiful.

The wedding is at Aldbury, where a *pannus sponsalicius*, or wedding canopy, of white colour, is among the treasures. This long-vanished piece of ritual seems to link the Church, perhaps through Byzantine use, with earlier Jewish days when brides always stood beneath a wedding canopy. The young bride must have felt full of blushing happiness as the village acolytes held the veil by the four corners over the newly-married pair. Like the Wife of Bath, the bride stood at the church-porch for the first part of the service, and later, as she came inside the church, she would look at the image of St. Nicholas and remember the story she had heard on his name-day, of how he threw three bags of money in at the window to dower the virtuous maidens. The wooden tower of Aldbury Church would sound marriage chimes. The humble parents of the bride would pray a prayer on the “comely arras carpet for the poor,” the incense-boy would walk by the other acolyte with the portable wooden cross, and the bride would look up at the ivory pix, set in silver, and vaguely know that in the mystery of her village church help for the unknown future would ever be at hand. Happiness is her gift to-day, but if sickness comes she knows that among the treasures of Aldbury Church is the pix in its case for carrying the Eucharist to the sick.

Yes, the ritual was simple and fit for unlettered people who could not read, but who knew that this homely earth, with its fustian copes and humble gracious festivals, was the threshold of the New Jerusalem.

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

BY E. VAUGHAN.

[Continued from p. 182.]

WHEN Michael Lane was only seven years old, and small for his age, he was sent to the junior branch of the Blue Coat School, which at that period was situated in Hertford, about seventeen miles from Sawbridgeworth. In this place the hardships were so great that he soon began to think of the cheerless vicarage as a comparative Paradise. His second brother, Pincent, had preceded him there.

The school was arranged in twelve divisions, called "wards"; each ward containing about forty-six scholars, who slept all together in one big room, and not always in separate beds. Michael had to share one with his elder brother, to whom he was fag. The boys arose at six o'clock, alike in summer and winter. For washing accommodation they had one large wooden tub filled with cold water, a bowl of soft soap, and one solitary towel hanging behind the door, which was shared equally by all the boys in the ward, as were the water and the soap, and was only changed once a week. Hair brushes were not considered necessary articles of toilet, two combs sufficing for the use of the whole ward.

The breakfast bell rang at seven o'clock, when all marched into a spacious hall, nurses attending with every ward, and lads called "bread-boys," bringing baskets of bread on their shoulders, which were placed at the head of each table. After grace each boy had for his allowance half a loaf, with no butter, and beer served out in great wooden mugs called "piggens," six of them being distributed among forty-six boys. The liquor itself was so nauseous that few could drink it; the boys called it "the washings of the brewers' aprons." A nurse presided at the head of each table during all meals.

Dinner was served at one o'clock in the same manner, certain boys being selected by the nurses to act as waiters. These had official names given to them corresponding to their special departments, such as "platter-boys," "pea-soup-boys," "spoon-boys," "knife-and-fork-boys," and "trencher-boys," the latter referring to the square pieces of oak, having out a slight cavity in the middle, which served for plates. On

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

winter evenings the services of "candle-boys" were required in addition to the others. Meat was only given on four days in the week, and then it always took the form of fresh beef, boiled on Mondays, Thursdays, and Fridays, and roasted on Sundays. With the meat, potatoes and bread were allowed, but no pudding ever seems to have been thought necessary, except on Tuesdays, when a bowl of rice-milk with bread-and-butter was the regulation dinner. On the other days, pea-soup was given. These appetising repasts were always preceded by a monitor reading a portion of scripture and a prayer, and the boys saying a verse of a Psalm, which the monitor gave out.

It was a rule that, alike in storm and sunshine, the boys must amuse themselves out of doors during play hours; to venture inside the house for a brief look at the fire was a treat seldom allowed, even in wintry weather. In consequence of their feet being so often wet, many of them developed bad chilblains, and Michael suffered more than most, because, in his dread of the cruel methods with which the nurses treated this complaint, he would try to hide his sore feet from their eyes, and sometimes went a fortnight without taking off his yellow worsted stockings. Once he had to spend a month in the infirmary as a result, the stockings having so eaten into the flesh that they could only be removed by soaking. Here his only companion was an old hag, whose barbarities were only equalled by those of the surgeon, and whose conversation chiefly consisted in the committal of her little patient to the custody of "the dickens."

The educational system was as curious as it was unsatisfactory; the school was divided into two classes, occupying two separate buildings, one of which was called the "writing school," and the other the "grammar school." In the first department were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, while the second provided instruction in Latin only, so that the "writing boys" had no classical learning, and the "grammar boys" could hardly form their letters well enough to do their exercises, and were quite incapable of mastering the most ordinary sum.

Of course the punishments were as brutal as they were incessant. Birch brooms for the manufacture of rods were always ordered by the load, and kept in constant use. Even caning on the hands, the reward for unlearned lessons, generally resulted in the wretched little victim being unable to cut his

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

own dinner afterwards, and sometimes in a visit to the sickward. It is small wonder that running away was a frequent occurrence, but it invariably ended in a woeful return, a reward being paid to any one who effected a capture. In the year 1800 six lads tried to escape together, but were discovered by the father of one of the fugitives, who brought them back to the hated school in the bottom of his cart, secured safely under a pig-jobber's net, and demanded the usual recompense. Besides the savage birching inflicted for this offence, the culprits were condemned to wear for a month a horse's clog and chain fastened to one of their legs, which was never removed even at night, and to have their coats turned inside out, exposing the bright yellow lining. While these six lads were still in disgrace, a horse regiment was quartered at Hertford, and among the officers was the Duke of Cumberland, who, when visiting the Blue Coat School, noticed their curious appearance, and inquired of one if their clothes denoted any special rank. The boy was equal to the occasion, and having contrived to hide his clog under his long skirt, replied that he and his companions were the musicians. Whereupon the Duke gave him a piece of money, and requested that "God save the King" should be played at their next performance.

Naturally such form of treatment produced the inevitable results of developing cowardly and bullying characters. One tyrannical monitor scraped the surface off a cricket bat into a little boy's soup and made him drink it, and was then seized with such terror at the prospect of a flogging from the master that he ran off to the river side, where he lay down among the rushes and cut his throat. There two bargemen found him and carried him back to the school more dead than alive, but he managed to survive, although it was some time before he could leave the infirmary. While still there the master sent him word that the punishment so long delayed would be his directly he was able to return to school. The boy declared so determinedly that he would again attempt suicide unless forgiven, and became so desperate that even the hardened old nurse was alarmed, and interceded on his behalf, but to no avail. The very first day that he rejoined the school, and in spite of a second appeal from three more of the nurses, the sentence was carried out with extra brutality, and the culprit was then told to go and cut his throat again as soon as he liked. This he never again attempted, but from that time he became a miserable dolt and a broken-spirited coward.

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

The device used to discourage fighting was to place the two offenders upon a large table, each armed with a birch rod, and to force them to thrash each other; the one who first gave in having the remainder of the rod used up on him by the master. This plan, we are told, soon had the effect of inducing the lion to lie down with the lamb.

Holidays were almost non-existent; they only consisted of a four weeks' visit to home or friends once in every three years. In the six years of Michael's school life he only once returned to Sawbridgworth, where he received his heartiest welcome from the old workhouse "Mammy"; and, during that period, his mother only came twice to see her children. Occasionally the father would visit Hertford and take out his sons for a few hours, giving them a good dinner of veal cutlets at "The Half-Moon," then kept by a friendly woman called Widow Medcraft. But bliss unalloyed was seldom to be Michael's luck; these brief snatches of freedom were either marred by a grim visit to the dentist's, or else his habit of biting his nails would draw upon him long and wrathful scoldings, and the withdrawal of the coveted sixpence which was the usual parting gift.

The boys were never allowed to leave the school grounds without a "ticket of leave," which took the form of a brass label attached to the button-hole by a bit of string. These were only bestowed as rewards to favourite pupils, or granted when friends or relations happened to come to the school, so it sometimes befell that if a lad were unpopular with his master, and had no visitors, he never went once outside the gates from the time he came until he left, with the exception of walking to church on Sundays, Good Friday, and Christmas Day.

One consolation was the abundance and variety of games, which consisted chiefly of those beloved by small boys in the past, and now gone out of fashion or forgotten, such as dumps; pitch-penny; hop-scotch; bat, trap, and ball; marbles; prisoner's-base; and French-and-English, the latter often resulting in fierce battles. An ingenious method of tucking up the awkward "petticoats" of the Blue Coat dress was contrived for the performance of leap-frog, which was very popular. Cricket was sometimes played, but there is no mention of football. The making and flying of enormous kites constituted another favourite amusement.

Besides these pastimes, the boys were very clever at rearing and taming birds; almost every one had his pet which would

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

answer to its name, and fly to its master when the cage door was opened, so that happily they were not always kept in confinement, but often allowed their freedom, and were seldom lost. Mice were also kept and trained to pull little carts; even the insects were not despised, and tricks were taught to cockroaches, wasps, and fleas.

A curious form of superstition was prevalent in the school; little idols were cunningly fashioned out of a portion of an ox-tail, which was cleaned, dyed, and then painted in the centre with a human face, while the two extremities were made to resemble outspread and supplicating hands. These were always kept hidden about their owner's person, and regarded as sacred oracles, whose aid could be invoked in difficulties. Some boys were professed idol makers, and got a good deal of money by their craft.

Story-telling would often enliven the nights spent in the bare dormitory, fairy tales being the most appreciated. No library existed, and none but lesson books were supplied, so that the lucky possessor of even one volume was greatly to be envied, and Michael's *Sandford and Merton* was much in request. Any literature was a source of delight, no matter how varied; *Paradise Lost*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, or *Esop's Fables* being equally welcome.

So the life went on; each day bringing the same routine of inadequate meals, and dull lessons made hateful by canings, intermingled with the few hours of play, when all might be forgotten awhile in flying kites, playing leap-frog, and making friends with the birds and the mice. But the end of all things comes sooner or later, and in Michael's case it came suddenly and unexpectedly.

He had just passed his thirteenth birthday when his father called, and, taking him into the town as usual, asked him if he would like to be a sailor. Of course the boy caught eagerly at any prospect which would remove him from his dreary surroundings, although he had never seen the sea, and his only idea of a sailor was a river bargeman. So within a fortnight came another paternal visit, bringing the news that Michael had been appointed to one of his Majesty's ships, and must come into the town to be fitted for his midshipman's uniform, and be ready to leave the school within a week. The joyful thought of getting away from Hertford so overwhelmed the boy that he went wild with delight, and learning any lessons became so impossible that he gave up all attempts at doing

A BYGONE CHILDHOOD.

so, and even the master thought it waste of time to beat him.

With this account of the last week spent as a Blue Coat boy, the manuscript abruptly ends. The story of a middy's experiences in the early years of the nineteenth century, however much we may desire to hear it, was either never written or else has been lost. Enough has been told to help us to realize that if the world has lost in picturesqueness in the last hundred years, it has certainly gained in its ideals of education, and advanced in humanity and common sense.

ERRATUM.—P. 178, line 27; for *hands* read *bands*.

THE HAYMARKET, LONDON. HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

BY J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL, author of *The Story of Charing Cross*.

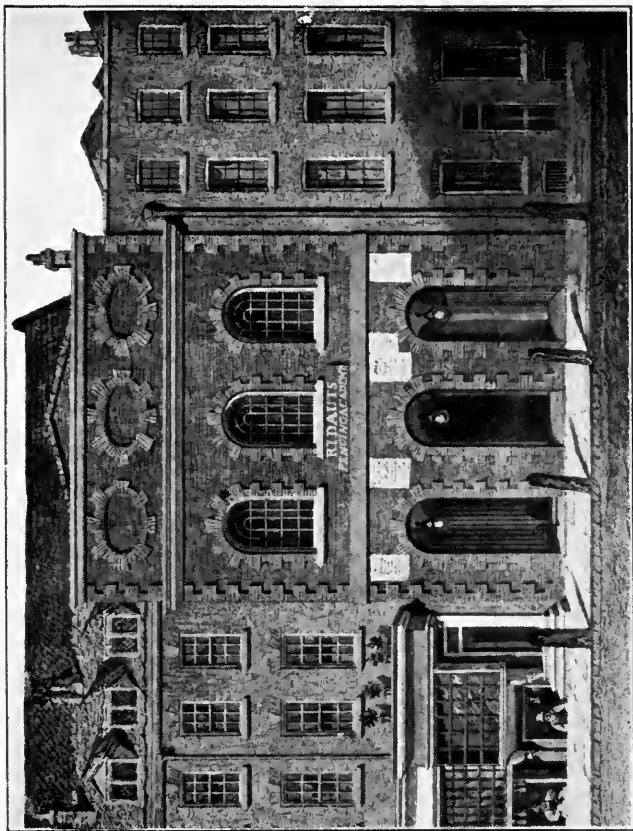
[Continued from p. 176.]

CHAPTER III

STOW describes the King's Head Inn as being "a large Place for Stabling and Coaches; nigh unto which, at the Corner of James Street, is Paulet's Ordinary, or Eating-house, much resorted unto by the Nobility and Gentry." The King's Head remained until 1720, when John Potter leased the inn of John and Thomas More for a fine of £200. According to Diprose, however, the theatre "appears to have been first built in 1702 and re-erected by Potter on the site of the King's Head at a cost of £1000 and £500 for scenes, dresses, etc." It was finished on December 1, 1720, and appropriated to a company of French comedians.¹

In January, 1723, an aged *danseuse* made her appearance in a youthful part, as appears by the following: "At the new Theatre, right over against the Opera House in the Haymarket, on Monday, January 28, will be acted the *Half-pay Officers, with Hobb's Wedding*; the Widow Rich, performed by the celebrated Peggy Friar, aged 71, for her benefit, who dances the Bashful Country Maid and the Irish Trot, and played but

¹ The site of the Little Theatre was afterwards occupied by the Café de Europe.



The Old Opera-House, Haymarket.



THE HAYMARKET.

once since the days of King Charles, and taught three queens to dance."¹ About the year 1735 a company of actors, calling themselves "The Great Mogul's Company," hired the house, and brought out several of Fielding's dramatic satires, especially "Pasquin," and "The Golden Rump." These pieces gave rise to what is called the Licensing Act (10 Geo. II, cap. 28), by which it was enacted that from and after June 24, 1737, no part of any play or performance should be represented for remuneration, without the sanction or licence of the Lord Chamberlain; and that all plays, not already licensed by that official should be sent for his approval or prohibition fourteen days at least before the day named for performance, under a penalty of £50 and the forfeiture of the licence. In 1744 Macklin was manager of the "Little House," so called to distinguish it from the original Opera House, built by Vanbrugh a few years earlier on the opposite side of the street. Macklin was succeeded by Foote, who continued manager for thirty years. In 1747 the following advertisement occurs:

At the Theatre, in the Haymarket, this day, will be performed a Concert of Music, with which will be given *gratis*, a new entertainment, called the Diversions of the Morning, to which will be added a farce, taken from the Old Bachelor, called the Credulous Husband Fondlewife by Mr. Foote, with an epilogue to be spoken by the B—d—d Coffee-house. To begin at 7.

This entertainment, although very successful, appears to have been projected without the Lord Chamberlain's licence alluded to above, for it was stopped in consequence of the opposition of Lacy, the patentee of Drury Lane Theatre, who procured an interdict against its repetition on the following day, on the ground that Foote had not obtained a licence for the Haymarket Theatre. And we are told in Chambers's *Book of Days* how Foote, in nowise daunted, issued on April 24 the following advertisement:

On Saturday noon, exactly at 12 o'clock, at the New Theatre, in the Haymarket, Mr. Foote begs the favour of his friends to come and drink a dish of chocolate with him; and 'tis hoped there will be a great deal of comedy and some joyous spirits; he will endeavour to make the Morning as diverting as possible. Tickets for the entertainment to be had at George's Coffee-

¹ *Weekly Journal*, Jan. 26, 1723.

THE HAYMARKET.

House, Temple Bar, without which no person will be admitted.

—N.B. Sir Dilbury Diddle will be there, and Lady Betty Frisk has absolutely promised.

Although the chocolate was conspicuous by its absence, a scratch company of young performers in drilling gave an unexpected zest to the arrangement. This was at noon. The next performance, at which a dish of tea was the inducement, was in the evening, and money flowed liberally into the coffers of the host. Then Foote, having come into a legacy, resumed the gay life of a "gentleman at large." Of Foote's personal character there is not much to be said, but his drolleries were so irresistible, that even Dr. Johnson, with his mind fortified against him by personal dislike had, on one occasion, to lay down his knife and fork, throw himself back in his chair, and laugh it out—"Sir, he was irresistible."

At the time Foote was preparing his puppet-show at the Haymarket Theatre, he enjoined all those concerned to keep it a profound secret, beyond circulating a whisper that something very novel was about to be produced. Garrick, who, according to Murphy, seemed to live in a *whispering gallery*, soon heard this report, and was tip-toe to get at the secret; his emissaries were constantly about the Green-room at the Haymarket, but to no purpose. At last Foote, taking compassion on his uneasiness, told him, "if he would dine with him on such a day he should know all." Garrick attended on the day appointed with great impatience, when, soon after dinner, Foote told him "it was a performer of most singular talents which he was going to introduce on the Stage, who was to do everything in a *new* way." "What's his name?" said Garrick, with some surprise. "That I'm not at liberty to mention yet; but he's a near relation of your old friend Dr. Birch. Will you be introduced to him? He is now, I understand, in my study. But ask him no questions, for *he'll make you no answers*." Garrick bowed compliance; and John, who previously had his cue, was ordered to introduce the young Roscius, who soon returned with a large well-dressed Punch in his arms. "Ah!" said Garrick, a good deal relieved from his fears, "now I understand you. What, a puppet-show, I suppose?" "Nothing more or less." "Well, but—" rejoined Garrick, "let me see—(still uneasy)—What are these puppets to do?" "Why d— it, David," said Foote (looking him full in the face) "you are not jealous of *Punch* already? Come, part the *rivals*, John, as I am determined to have no blood spilt in

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

my house." Here Punch was remanded, and Garrick felt the laugh of the company.¹

The Haymarket Theatre was on one occasion, in the year 1749, the scene of one of the most extraordinary impositions to which a credulous public has ever been subjected. The advertisement, with which the hook was baited, announced that on January 16 in that year a person would appear in the new Haymarket Theatre, who, after playing the music of every instrument in use, upon a cane belonging to any of the spectators, would walk into a common quart bottle, placed upon a table in the middle of the stage in sight of the audience, and would sing in it; and, during his stay in the bottle, any person might examine it, and be satisfied that it was a common wine bottle. Some other feats were to be exhibited equally entertaining, and although it might be supposed, says Thomas Allen, to be impossible that mankind, even in a state of gross ignorance, could be so egregiously imposed upon, yet it is unquestionably true that the scheme did take effect in the British capital, and in the middle of the eighteenth century. On the evening of the exhibition, the house was crowded with the nobility and gentry of both sexes, who sat very patiently for a considerable time, without the amusement of a single fiddle. At length the audience grew tired and clamorous; and a fellow came from behind the curtain, and bowing, said, if the performer did not appear, the money should be returned: at the same time some person in the pit called out that if the ladies and gentlemen would give double price, the conjurer would get into a pint bottle. This was the signal for a riot; the greater part of the audience hurried out of the theatre, with the loss of cloaks, hats, wigs, and swords; part remained behind, who, being joined by the mob from without, tore up the benches, broke the scenes, pulled down the boxes, and entirely demolished the inside of the theatre: all of which they carried into the street, preceded by the curtain, fastened to a pole, as a flag of triumph, when they converted them into a large bonfire. A strong party of the Guards was sent for, but did not arrive in time to save any part of the property.²

In 1767 the theatre was again rebuilt, and became a Royal Theatre. In 1777 Foote sold his license to the elder Coleman for an annuity of £1,600, with permission to play so often, and on such terms, that he could gain £400 more. "What

¹ *Memoirs of Macklin*, 1804, pp. 288-9.

² Allen's *London*, 1828, vol. ii, pp. 45-6.

THE HAYMARKET.

Coleman can get by this bargain," Dr. Johnson writes, "but trouble and hazard I do not see."¹ But it turned out fortunate; for Foote, though not then fifty-six, played on three occasions only, and died in less than a year from the date of sale. Coleman's tenure began January 1, 1777. The Green-room of the theatre, under Coleman, formed a centre in which was united "a larger portion of wit, pleasantry, and unbounded hilarity than any other place could present. All was mirth and frolic; care and spleen were alike refused admission; and, if wit was occasionally shown in a little sharpness of remark, it was parried, retorted, or submitted to, without the least sign of irritation or any harbouring of resentment. If, by chance, a momentary misunderstanding arose, the appearance of either Charles or Jack Bannister was that of the mythological divinity coming at the right moment to untie the puzzling knot . . . without possessing or affecting any authority or pre-eminence, each was hailed as a peace-maker, and bowed to as a judge."² "Jack" Bannister was the idol of the town, both on account of his acting and his personal qualities. His impersonation of Walter, in Morton's "Children in the Wood," says Horace Walpole, "made me shed as many tears as I suppose the original old ballad did when I was six years old." Charles Lamb, speaking of Bannister and Suett, says: "Jack Bannister and he had the fortune to be more of personal favourites with the town than any actors before or after. The difference, I take it, was this:—Jack was more *beloved* for his sweet, good-natured, moral pretensions, Dicky (Suett) was more *liked* for his sweet, good-natured, no pretensions at all. Your whole conscience stirred with Bannister's performance of Walter in the Children in the Wood—but Dicky seemed like a thing, as Shakespeare says of Love, too young to know what conscience is. He put us into Vesta's days. Evil fled before him—not as from Jack, as from an antagonist—but because it could not touch him, any more than a cannon ball a fly."³ Sir Walter Scott also thus wrote of Bannister:

There is Jack Bannister, honest Jack, who, in private character, as upon the stage, formed so excellent a representation of the national character of Old England—Jack Bannister, whom even footpads could not find it in their hearts to injure.

¹ Cunningham's *London*.

² *Memoirs of John Bannister, Comedian*, by John Adolphus, 1839, vol. i, pp. 225-6.

³ *The Essays of Elia*, "On some of the old Actors" (Bohn, 1871, p. 180).

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

There he is with his noble locks, now as remarkable when covered with snow, as when their dark honours curled around his manly face, singing to his grandchildren the ditties which used to call down the rapture of crowded theatres in thunders of applause.¹

The comforts of a London theatre towards the end of the eighteenth century are exhibited in a dubious light by a certain Prussian divine and author who travelled in England at that time. This was Charles Philip Moritz, who visited the metropolis in 1782. The winter theatres being shut, Moritz twice visited the Haymarket. The first time "The Nabob" was represented, of which Foote was the author, and a very pleasing and laughable musical farce, called "The Agreeable Surprise." The second time he saw "The English Merchant," which had been translated into German and was known in Germany as "The Scotch-woman, or the Coffee-House." But it is his experiences of the interior of the Haymarket Theatre that will afford both interest and amusement.

A few excepted, the comedians whom I saw were certainly nothing extraordinary. For a seat in the boxes you paid 5s., in the pit 3s., in the first gallery 2s., and in the second or upper gallery 1s. And it is the tenants in this upper gallery who, for their shilling, make all that noise and uproar, for which the English playhouses are so famous. I was in the pit, which gradually rises amphitheatre-wise from the orchestra, and is furnished with benches, one above another from the top to the bottom. Often and often, while I sat here, did a rotten orange, or the peel of an orange, fly past me, or past some of my neighbours; and once one of them actually hit my hat, without my daring to look round, for fear another might come plump in my face.

Besides this perpetual pelting from the gallery, which renders an English playhouse so uncomfortable, there is no end to their calling out, and knocking with their sticks till the curtain is drawn up. I saw a miller's or a baker's boy thus, like a huge booby, leaning over the rails, and knocking again and again, on the outside, with all his might, without being in the least ashamed or abashed. I sometimes heard, too, the people in the lower or middle gallery quarrelling with those of the upper one. Behind me, in the pit, sat a young fop, who, in

¹ *Quarterly Review*, Sept. 1826 (vol. xxxiv, Art. x, p. 248). Bannister was actually stopped one evening by two footpads, who, recognizing the general favourite of the English audience, begged his pardon, and wished him good-night. (Note, *ibid.*)

THE HAYMARKET.

order to display his costly stone buckles with the utmost brilliancy, continually put his foot on my bench, and even sometimes upon my coat; which I could avoid only by sparing him as much space, from my portion of the seat, as would make him a footstool.¹

In the boxes, quite in a corner, sat several servants, who were said to be placed there, to keep the seats for the families they served, till they should arrive. They seemed to sit remarkably close and still; the reason for which, this acute observer of our manners was told, was their apprehension of being pelted; for if one of them dared to look out of the box, he was immediately saluted with a shower of orange-peel from the gallery.

There is much more that is extremely interesting from the pen of this enlightened foreigner, with regard especially to the plays that he witnessed at the Haymarket. His comparisons between the Germans and the English at this time appear to be remarkably just.

But the above were not the only straits in which the devoted playgoer in the Haymarket was liable to find himself in the eighteenth century arrangements for his convenience. On February 3, 1794, in consequence of the play on that night having been commanded by their Majesties, a dreadful accident happened at the Haymarket "Little Theatre," through the pressure of the crowd, who had assembled in great numbers. On opening the pit door, the rush was so strong that a number of persons were thrown down, and those who immediately followed were hurried over them, by the irresistible pressure from behind; so that many, who were literally trampling their fellow-creatures to death, had no power to avoid the mischief they were doing. The cries of the dying and the maimed are described as having been truly shocking; and before the confusion could be remedied, fifteen persons were deprived of life, while upwards of twenty others were materially injured by bruises and broken limbs. Most of the sufferers were respect-

¹ *Travels through England in 1782*, by Charles P. Moritz of Berlin. The good-humour which breathes through these letters, the candour of the author's remarks, and his unaffected humility cannot fail, as his editor points out, to prejudice every reader in his favour. He does not indeed boast of his reception among the great, but he delineates views of national manners in humble life, that would never have fallen under the eye of a prouder traveller, or less curious observer. Nor does he inveigh with bitterness against the most unprovoked insolence of the vulgar.

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

able characters: among the dead were Benjamin Pingo, York Herald, and J. C. Brooke, Somerset Herald.¹

The admired Elliston made his debut at this theatre in 1796. Liston first appeared here also in the same year; and Charles Mathews the elder appeared here May 15, 1803. Coleman having died in 1795, was succeeded by his son, George Coleman the younger, who in 1805 sold a half-share of his licence to Messrs. Morris and Winston. Charles Mayne Young, the tragedian, first appeared in London at the Haymarket in 1807.

Potter the carpenter's "Little House" was permanently closed in 1820, and pulled down in 1821, when Nash's theatre was built upon its site, and opened July 4 in the same year. Webster's management began in 1837, and ceased in 1853, when Buckstone became the manager. Nash's erection stood on a piece of ground immediately adjoining the former theatre.

CHAPTER IV

OF the Haymarket Green-room Ellen Terry narrates how she well remembered Charles Mathews' face, which was very much painted for the stage:

At a distance it had a wonderful effect, but near by in the Green-room his face looked like a wilted apple! It was Charles Mathews who told me that Madame Vestris used to have her black satin boots sewed on to her feet every night. This Green-room I associate with Mr. Chippendale and Mr. Compton, charmingly mannered people. Mr. Chippendale used to instruct me in the Green-room how to "walk a minuet," and how to use my arms in a grander manner. Folk behind the scenes were more scandalmongering and less kind than nowadays—or is it that now they have less opportunity? At the Haymarket, I remember listening, for a while, to the tale of how Mrs. Such-a-One had a rose given her by Mr. So-and-So, and how . . . until I could stand it no longer; and although I was only sixteen at the time, I rose up and made an effective exit from the Green-room, spreading out my skirts as Mr. Chippendale had taught me, and saying: "I shall never come into a Green-room again as long as I live! Good-bye, ladies and gentlemen—I leave my character behind me!"

¹ *Beauties of England and Wales* (Middlesex), 1810, vol. x, pt. i, p. 554. See also the *Morning Chronicle*, Feb. 4, 1794, and the *Builder*, July 17, 1858.

THE HAYMARKET.

We were playing "The School for Scandal" at the time, on alternate nights with "The Rivals" and "She Stoops to Conquer," which made my youthful protest appropriate, if not excusable. I may say here, that if there was anything which Mr. Chippendale and the others could play superbly, it was old comedy. In these plays, in which tradition is of such supreme importance, the actors who had Sheridan's directions, almost at first hand, enjoyed an advantage which the present generation lacks, and for which it has found no good substitute. There is no doubt that the Green-room was an ideal forcing-house, for what I may call "flowers of invention," but we mustn't be too hard on it for that! Gossip is such a hardy plant that it will flourish in almost any soil. Work is perhaps the only reliable killer of the weed; and I have often wished that the younger members of present-day companies had more work, when I am certain there would be less talk!¹

The Haymarket Green-room was, I believe, abolished during the lesseeship of Messrs. Harrison and Cyril Maude.

The Haymarket Theatre has become famous as the home of comedy. In 1879 Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft began negotiations for the lesseeship, and entered into actual management at the beginning of that year. The house was reconstructed and re-decorated, and was opened to the public under new and favourable auspices on January 31, 1880, when "Money" was revived, with Mr. Bancroft in his old part and Mrs. Bancroft this time as Lady Franklin. Upon this ensued a revival of the comedy of "School," in which Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft both resumed the parts they played in 1869. In 1882 were produced "Odette" and "The Overland Route," while the last pieces under the Bancrofts' management were Sardou's "Fedora," Pinero's "Lords and Commons," and a revival of "The Rivals."

Candles were used in the Haymarket Theatre, to the exclusion of other forms of light, so late as the year 1842, the terms of the then lease forbidding the use of gas.²

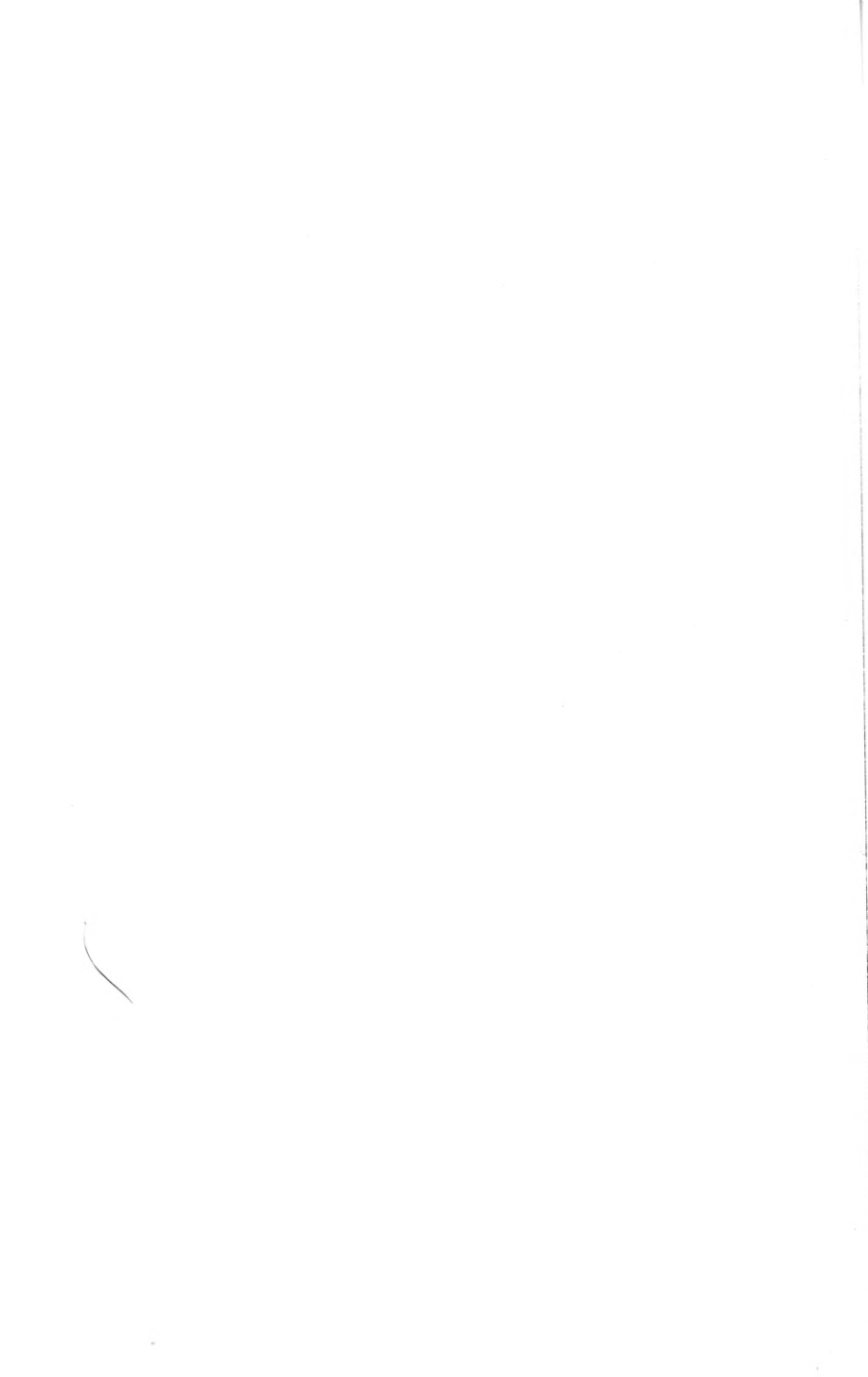
Mr. W. Clark Russell, in relating his experiences as a dramatist, when he wrote "the thing in blank verse" which he called "Fra Angelo," and which was produced at the Haymarket, says that while the play was running he was one night sitting with John Brougham in the Café de l'Europe, next door to the theatre. A tall, military, good-looking man entered. He

¹ *The Green Room*, by Ellen Terry (*Windsor Magazine*, Dec., 1905), pp. 68-70.

² William Lacy in *The Theatre*, Feb., 1880, p. 68.



The Old and New Theatres, Haymarket, 1822.



HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

noddod to Brougham, who asked him, "Been next door?" "Yes," said the newcomer. "What do you think of the play?" "Utter unmitigated rubbish," was the reply. "This is the author," said Brougham, with a bland gesture and a blander smile. The tall, military-looking man coloured up with a fine gentlemanly air of confusion, and said, smiling with difficulty at me, "It is so very easy to criticise," and then, darting a look at Brougham which should have kept that gentleman thirsty for the remainder of the night, he walked off.

In this tavern, as the so-called Café should be termed, says Mr. Clark Russell, used to assemble, after their several performances, nearly all the chief actors of the day. Indeed, the traditions of this place must always form a portion of the story of the Haymarket Theatre. "Here," he says, "I have seen Mr. Toole, John Ryder, John Clarke, Sothern, Mr. Kendal, Charles Harcourt (one of the pleasantest fellows I ever met, an airy and charming Mercutio), and many others. Arthur Sullivan was often here. One night he said to me proudly: "What do you think? I have been made musical Editor of *The Glow-worm!*"¹

It was in the Haymarket that Joseph Baretti, the author of the Italian Dictionary, which still bears his name, and of *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain, and France*, a work replete with information and entertainment, was the victim of a distressing assault by roughs. Accosted with indecency by a woman of the town, he roughly repulsed her, so that a further attack ensued from some of the woman's male acquaintances, and in the scuffle he struck one of his assailants with a French pocket dessert-knife. On this the man pursued and collared him, when Baretti, still more alarmed, stabbed him repeatedly with the knife, of which wounds he died on the following day. He was immediately taken into custody and tried for murder at the Old Bailey, but acquitted on a verdict of self-defence. Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, Garrick, Reynolds, and Beauclerk gave testimony to his good character; and although he did not escape censure for his too ready (?) use of the knife, his acquittal was generally approved.

Very early in the nineteenth century the present Mr. Maclean's father, the famous print and caricature publisher, was established at No. 26, Haymarket, next door to Messrs. Garrard,

¹ *The Haymarket Theatre*, by Cyril Maude, 1903, pp. 164-5.

THE HAYMARKET.

the Crown Jewellers;¹ and here he published mostly sporting prints and caricatures, but also, later, the fine works of Landseer, "Dignity and Impudence," "The Stag at Bay," Nash's *Mansions of England*, etc.

It was Mr. Maclean senior who published the remarkable series of drawings, 917 in number, by "H.B.," who, while following Gillray and Rowlandson, "led English satiric art into a path of reticence and good breeding which it has never trodden before." For delineation of political history in England, between the years 1830 and 1845, Doyle had no rival. Thackeray, Wordsworth, Macaulay, Wilkie, Haydon, Moore, and Rogers, were all enthusiastic as to the merit of these drawings. The identity of the artist was kept wonderfully secret until almost the last, many being certain that it was Henry (Lord) Brougham; but it then became evident that the famous caricatures, of which there are more than 600 examples in the British Museum, were the work of John Doyle, who was the father of Richard Doyle of *Punch*, and grandfather of our own particular Conan Doyle. The prints were published at two shillings each, but *Punch* came out at threepence and put a stop to their sale.

While Mr. Thomas Maclean's present premises are on the south side of the Haymarket Theatre—at No. 7, Haymarket, formerly occupied by Lang the gunmaker—the house on the north side of the theatre occupies the site of the original theatre, built by Potter the carpenter, and thence known as "Potter's Little Theatre in the Haymarket," which is also the site of what was afterwards so well known as the Café de l'Europe. Early in the Victorian era, judging from a street plan, this house was No. 8, occupied by W. White (late Hastings and White). In 1849 Hastings and White, the Savory and Moore of the day, were at the large house, No. 17, now pulled down, on the south-west corner of James Street. Through this house, evidently built, says Mr. J. T. Smith, in the reign of Charles II, tradition has it that Charles and the Duke of York used to walk on to the tennis court in James Street.²

¹ A circumstance not devoid of interest is that Mr. Maclean senior was apprenticed to his uncle in Albemarle Street, and that this uncle sold his business to Mr. Murray, the celebrated book publisher, whose descendant is still there.

² This site is now occupied by Clarence Chambers, from No. 12 to No. 17.

HISTORICAL AND ANECDOTAL.

In 1902 the restaurant variously known as the Café de l'Europe, Epitaux's, or the Pall Mall, was brought to the hammer, Messrs. Elliott Son and Boyton being the auctioneers. In 1878, when Sala wrote his *Twice Round the Clock*, you might have supped in the Haymarket as your taste led or finances counselled:

Are you rich—there is Dubourgs, the Hotel de Paris, and the upstairs department of the Café de l'Europe.¹ There is no lack of cunning cooks there, I warrant, to send you up pheasants and partridges *en papillote*; *filets*, with mushrooms or truffles, culinary gewgaws, that shall cost five shillings the dish. Yea, and cellarers will not be wanting to convey to you the Roederer's Champagne, the fragrant Clos Vougeot, the refreshing Lafitte, and the enlivening Chambertin, with yellow seal; smooth waiters to attend to your minutest wishes, and bring you the handsome reckoning on an electro-silver plateau, and, with many bows, return you what odd change there may be out of a five-pound note.

Breslau, the conjuror, in 1782, was residing first at No. 57, and afterwards at No. 10, Haymarket, offering to teach the art of legerdemain on reasonable terms, and giving his entertainment on alternate evenings at a room in Panton Street, and one in Cornhill. About the year 1780, there were exhibited in the Haymarket, as the late Mr. H. S. Cuming's father remembered, the "Mechanical Chessmen," which created great interest at the time. There is an engraving of these chessmen extant; but Mr. Cuming was unable to say in what part exactly of the Haymarket it was that they were to be seen.

At No. 11, Haymarket, nearly opposite the Opera House, in a "commodious room," was to be seen, just arrived in town:

The celebrated Irish Giant, Mr. O'Brien, of the kingdom of Ireland, indisputably the tallest man ever shewn; he is a lineal descendant of the old puissant King Brien Boreau, and has in person and appearance all the similitude of that great and grand potentate. It is remarkable of this family, that, however various the revolutions in point of fortune and

¹ This place appears to have been known also, at one time, as the "European." Hemmings, who was well-known as an actor of the "gentlemanly parts" at the Adelphi (in the time of Yates and John Reeve) and other theatres, was one of the landlords of "the Wrekin," but afterwards took "the European," next door to the Haymarket, before he died in 1848. (See the Creed Collection of Tavern Signs.)

THE HAYMARKET.

alliance, the lineal descendants thereof have been favoured by Providence with the original size and stature which have been so peculiar to their family. The gentleman alluded to measures near nine feet high. Admittance, one shilling.

The "monster" must not be confused with another similarly named Irish giant, Charles Byrne, who measured only eight feet, and whose skeleton is to be seen to-day in the museum of the College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The latter died of excessive drinking at a very early age, but Patrick Cotter O'Brien lived to an advanced age, as giants go, having died in his forty-seventh year.¹

[To be continued.]

THE SURREY TYPE OF VILLAGE CHURCHES.

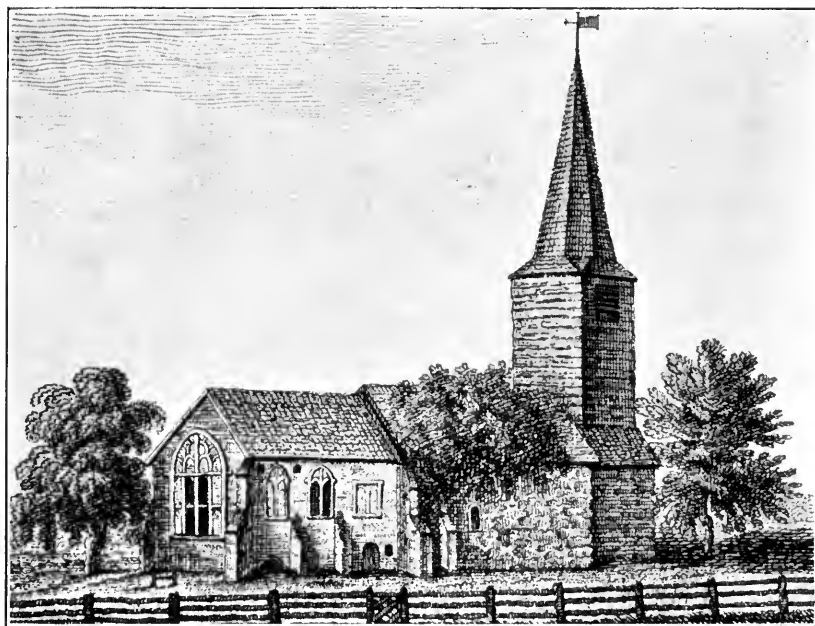
BY JOHN A. RANDOLPH.

IT is practically possible to say that the old churches in Surrey villages have a style peculiarly their own, just as Norfolk, Somerset, Devon, and other counties each have some predominating feature, if not complete buildings, in their individual styles.

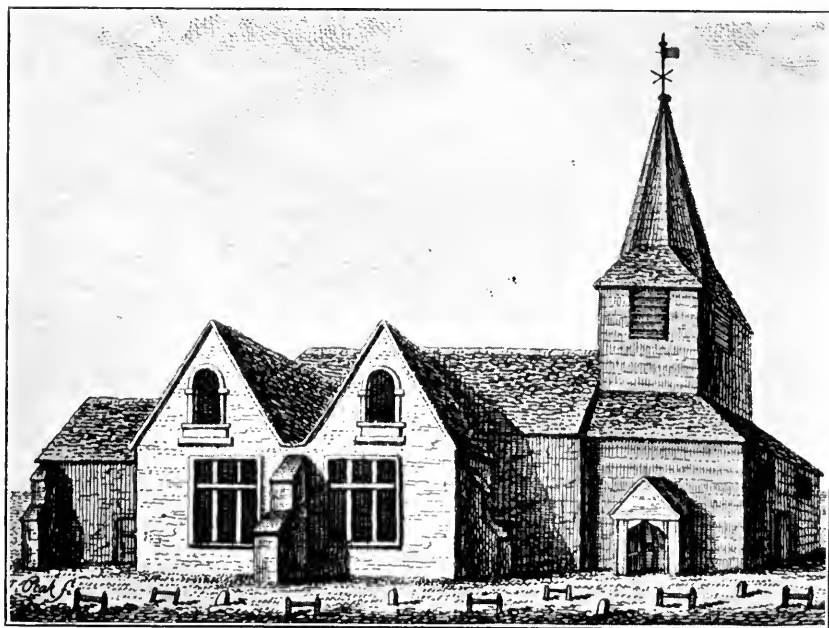
Of course some churches are exceptions, but they are few and far between, and near town influences as a rule; where restorations or enlargements have occurred, however, we have old prints or drawings showing us what they were formerly like, and, in not a few instances, they were of the type that seems to prevail in Surrey.

Among these are Walton-on-the-Hill, Tatsfield, and Stoke d'Abernon. The latter, to our mind, has lost more than it has gained by losing its picturesque bell-tower and spirelet in the process of "restoration"; the present nave and aisles are stiff and formal, and the turret, with its open space under the pointed roof, seems as utterly out of keeping with the formerly quiet, dignified church as it was possible to make it, and out of all harmony with the other churches of the Surrey village type. This may also be said of Farleigh, which had no

¹ Chambers' *Book of Days*, 1864, vol. ii, p. 326.



Walton-on-the-Hill Church.



Long Ditton Church.



THE SURREY TYPE OF VILLAGE CHURCHES.

tower originally, and of Walton-on-the-Hill. It is a mystery to us how such an alteration ever came to be allowed. Practically all that remains of the original building is the chantry of the D'Abernons, which, being private property, so to speak, could not be altered under the "faculty" that had to be obtained for the so-called restoration. The new and stiff tower, perched on the side of the church, is a poor affair, and its "finish" is unchurchlike, and the effect ludicrous.

Egham, as is well known, is now a hideous classical structure, replacing a very charming building with an embattled tower surmounted by a thin spire, the steeple being remarkably similar to that of Pirbright. To this type also belonged Oxted and Bletchingley, which both lost their spires by lightning. Ash, Albury, and Wonersh also closely resembled Pirbright.

There does not seem to be any hard and fast rule for the position of side porches, though a number of them are to be found on the south side of the church, and, strange to relate, in one or two instances, as at Crowhurst, the side door is the only way in, and at Ockley the roofing of the porch is in stone slabs. At Oxted, the side door is of the fifteenth century, while Merton has a fourteenth century north porch to the Norman door.

The western doors at Haslemere are peculiar in arrangement, a small one between the north aisle and the tower, with a similar one above it approached by an outside flight of stone steps protected by plain iron railings; but this curious feature is obviously not medieval.

There is an old *timber* west porch at West Horsley, a rather unusual occurrence in Surrey, though the one at Horley is more of the "side" pattern. Other west porches are at Shere, Leigh, Ewhurst, Farleigh, Oakwood, etc.

Murray ignores Horley Church, and several others in the county; but though treated in a more superficial manner, the county churches are more satisfactorily dealt with, on the whole, in the charming little volumes of the Homeland Association, which have been very helpful to us.

The main type of steeple is a square structure rising to about a square, or a trifle over, above the nave roof, and covered generally with shingles, and the little spire, or high roof, that surmounts it is also, in those cases, shingle-covered. Occasionally, however, slates are met with, either for the spire alone, or for the tower and spire. Sometimes we find, as at Newdigate, East Clandon, and, formerly, at Long Ditton and

THE SURREY TYPE OF VILLAGE CHURCHES.

Frimley, the shingles or slates reaching to a little above the west door, while at Newdigate and Elstead the lower part of the tower projects further west than its upper stage, a steep slant joining the two parts. Long Ditton's old church, now replaced by an ornate stiff Gothic one, had a similar projection. Burstow is a very singular example of steeple; it projects beyond the west fronts of the aisles, and is shingled practically from the ground upwards, with tiny spikes at each corner of the little spire.

A very few of these western turrets extend, interiorily, on timbers into the body of the church, and the bells are rung, in those cases, generally from the floor, between the supporting beams. Most of these turrets rise from the nave roofs, as at Woodmansterne, Sanderstead, Leigh, Caterham, etc., while at Merton and Esher it may be found in the guise of a box shape with horizontal narrow boards, slightly apart, under an equilateral or an octagonal roof, and set astride the nave roof at a foot or two from the eaves over the west front. Chelsham had a very plain wooden tower with an equilateral roof and two small square belfry openings one above the other, and that of Leigh was a small box-shaped turret with a similar finish. Farleigh is said, in one instance, to have had no tower, and in another, a small one is shown as reaching to the top of the nave roof, with a slated equilateral roof.

Byfleet and Tandridge are thus placed, but their tower proportions are loftier, and shingle-covered, and their spires higher.

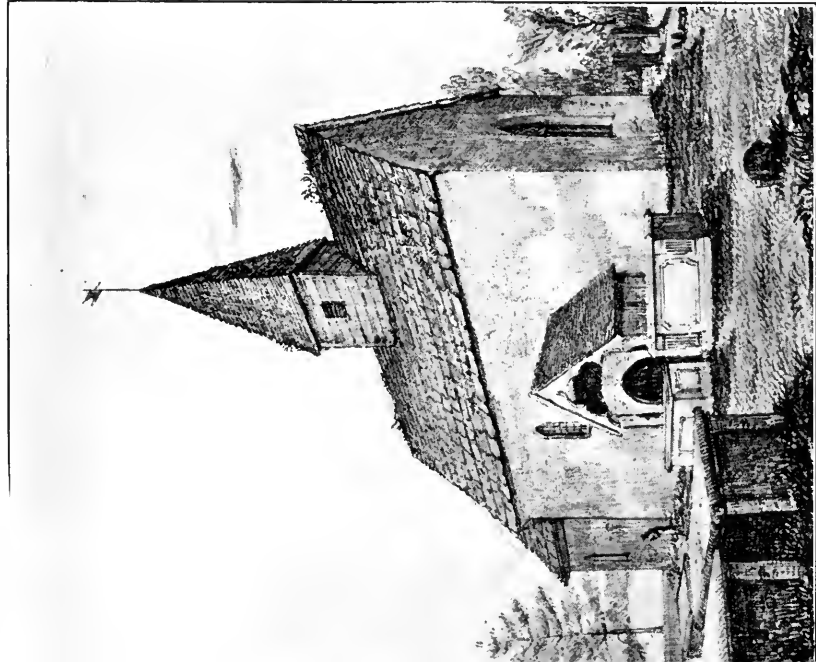
Another kind of steeple—a squat square tower surmounted by a thin octagonal spire rising out of very wide slopes—occurs at Banstead, Mickleham, Coulsdon, and Thames Ditton, and, though so far apart, they give one the impression of having been designed by the same architect.

Approaching more to the "town" type are those churches with towers, but these steeples are unpretentious and simple in treatment as a rule. Walton-on-Thames, Ewell, Beddington, and Ashted are, perhaps, the best known, while smaller towers exist at Peperharrow (which Pugin proposed to restore with a lofty spire something like St. Martin's at Dorking!), Puttenham, Ockley, Ockham, Malden, Thorpe, etc. East Horsley is low and wide.

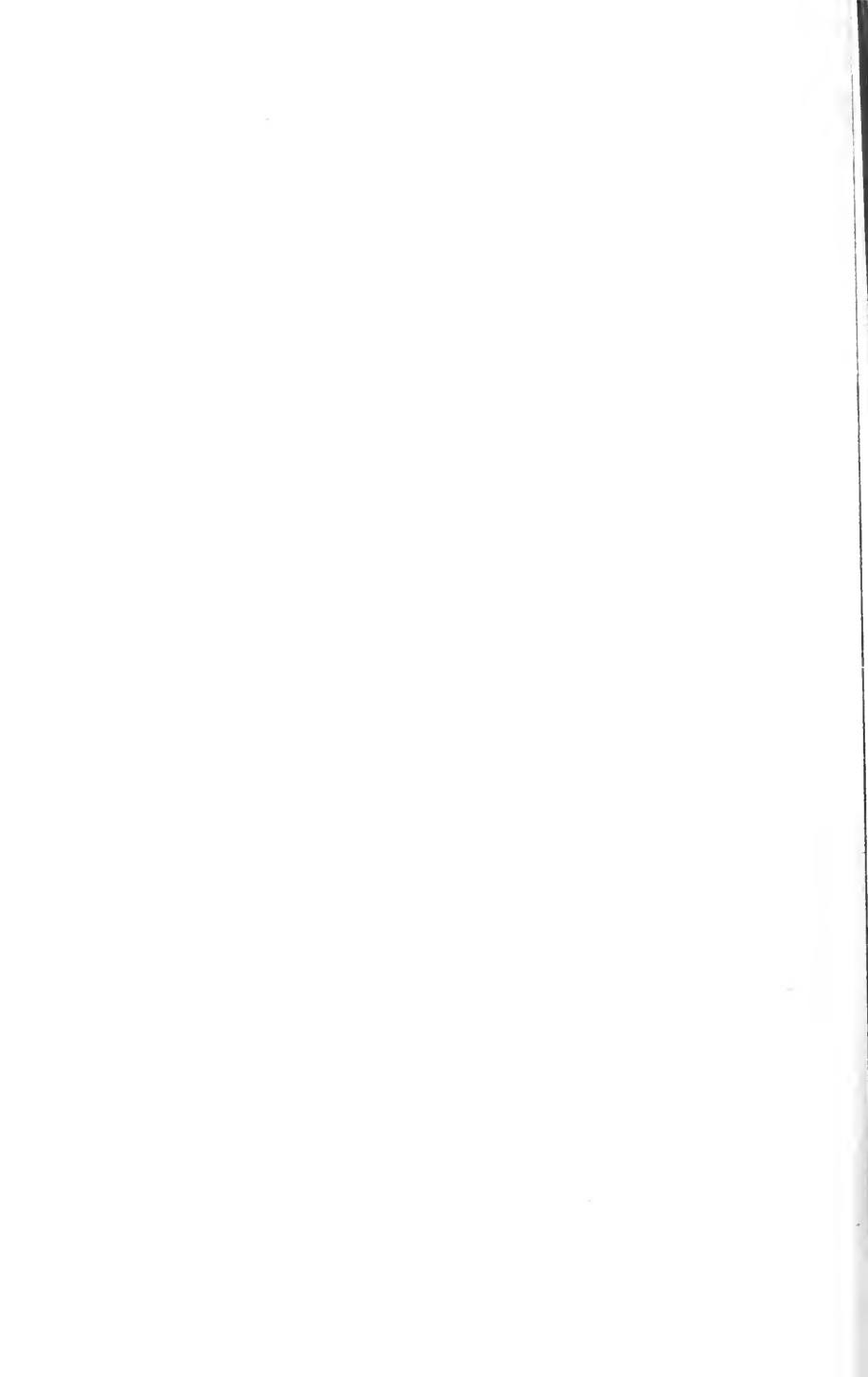
At Limpsfield a Norman tower, unusually placed on the south side, has an equilateral roof; at Godstone, the lofty and elegant steeple, with its spire (in recent years altered to two



Weybridge Church.



Hascomb Church.



THE SURREY TYPE OF VILLAGE CHURCHES.

stages by an addition of some sixteen feet) is deserving of individual mention. The church is a large one for a village, and has a Norman west door.

Horley has a peculiar steeple, shingle-covered and tall, with a thin lofty spire, the belfry lights being little square openings placed thus ■■■■ on the faces of the upper part of the tower. The simple and dignified Norman tower of Cobham has a spire, and Compton's tower and spire are smaller and effective; but all these churches with spires or towers as distinct from the turret type, are not enough in number to be justified in being classed as of Surrey village style. An exception even to the Surrey spires is the noble specimen at Lingfield, alongside the former collegiate church, one of the most striking structures in England, with its magnificent fifteenth century roofing, screens, columns, arches, and traceried windows.

Strictly speaking, however, Lingfield Church is not one of the village churches proper.

Ewhurst has a central stone tower, with spire, of Norman date; Witley's is a low square central one, with small square spire and apologies for pinnacles; and Chipstead has a stumpy central one, with plain parapet. We may here digress for a moment to comment on the Jacobean screen, of great beauty and simplicity, which is irreverently surmounted by the *Royal Arms*.

Three churches seem to be of no particular type—Bramley (before enlargement or restoration), Chaldon, and Gatton; but the steeple of Chaldon, nestling alongside a plethora of variously-pitched roofs, is not old except, perhaps, at its lowest portion, which is stated to have been erected but a few feet on older foundations still. Albury and Wotton are much of a style, though the curious dome at Albury gives it a rather Renaissance touch. It had a thin spire, formerly, like that at Pirbright.

Carshalton is difficult to classify, since its amazing deformity. Ripley's sole old remnant is the E.E. chancel. Sutton old church had a plain west tower, not unlike Kingston; the church was of stone, with stone south porch, and an elegant three-light fourteenth-century east window. Tooting was, of course, unique, having a small, elegantly proportioned, *round* tower. In the limits of a brief survey, it is impossible to do more than lightly touch on the salient examples of the various churches and to name only a few of each pattern; the following

THE SURREY TYPE OF VILLAGE CHURCHES.

table therefore may help in amplifying the foregoing remarks. It is compiled from old prints and drawings showing the churches before alteration in last century or earlier.

TABLE OF TYPES OF SURREY VILLAGE CHURCHES

Principal type, with a few variants: Warlingham, Walton-on-the-Hill, Chessington, Capel, Caterham, Woodmansterne, East Clandon, Bisley, Abinger, Oakwood, Elstead, Long Ditton, Newdigate, Sanderstead, Pyrford, Wisley, Dunsfold, Horne, Little Bookham, Alfold, Stoke d'Abernon, Tatsfield, Crowhurst, Byfleet, Tandridge, Weybridge (and, centrally placed, Buckland, Thursley, and Hascombe), Leigh, Merton, Esher, Farleigh, Gatton, Hambledon (called Hamilton in one old print), Chelsham, Frimley, and East Molesey. *Query:* Kingswood (Chapel), and Ripley.

Exaggerated octagonal spires from square bases: Banstead, Thames Ditton, Coulsdon, and Mickleham.

West towers: Headley-on-the-Hill, Ewell, Haslemere, Effingham, Walton-on-Thames, Barnes, Mortlake, West Molesey, Putney, Battersea, Camberwell, Beddington, Wotton, East Horsley, Peperharrow, Frensham, Puttenham, Ockley, Ockham, Thorpe, Stoke (near Guildford), Worplesdon, Woking, Send, Horsell, Ashted, Cranleigh, Chiddingfold, Addington, Windlesham, Morden, Sutton, Carshalton, Malden, Titsey, and Chelsham.

West towers with spires: Cobham, Chobham, Merrow, Shalford, Nutfield, Pirbright, Merstham, Oxted, West Horsley, Compton, Albury, Ash, Egham, Bletchingley, Burstow, and Great Bookham.

Central towers: Chipstead and Seale.

Central towers with spires: Shere, Witley, Ewhurst, and Kingston.

Side towers with low, flat, or high roofs: Bramley, Betchworth, Fetcham, Wonersh, Mitcham, Limpsfield, and Charlwood. *Query:* Chaldon.

Side towers with spires: West Clandon, Epsom, Horley, Godstone.

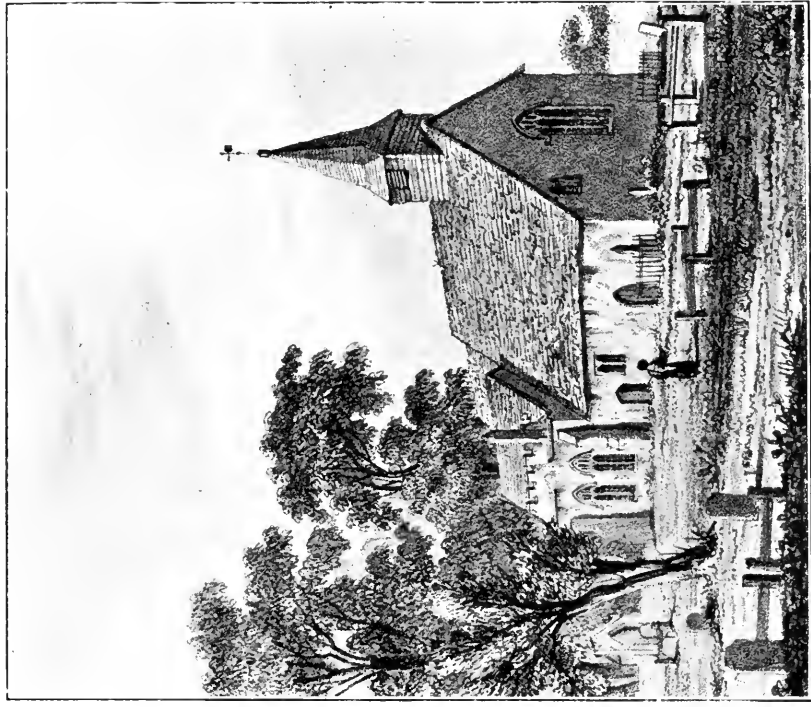
No steeple: Wanborough and Woldingham.

Unclassified: Tooting.

CHALFONT ST. GILES AND MILTON.

BY I. GIBERNE SIEVEKING.

PERHAPS there is no prettier excursion than the drive from Chalfont Road Station, on the Metropolitan Extension line, to Chalfont St. Giles. For a good part of the way the road, no more practically than a path through



Stoke D'Abernon Church.



Wisley Church.

CHALFONT ST. GILES AND MILTON.

beautiful woods, is crowded, if it be spring, with a far-reaching glow of blue and yellow. The bluebells and primroses literally cover the ground, and dignified fox-gloves and waving bracken line the tracks, which themselves are carpeted deep with moss of many species. The way through the village is along the road which leads past the old church, the green, the pond, and the curious old houses, chiefly half-timbered, with overhanging stories and red-tiled roofs. Opposite the post office is the great trunk of an old elm tree, with spreading roots. Close here the village stocks used to be in former days. The Rectory barns and farm buildings are well worth seeing, and so is the splendid old wall round the grounds, bent into many shapes by reason of its great age, and supported by gigantic buttresses. Part of the Rectory dates from the reign of Queen Anne, and opposite is a fine old house, with picturesque gables and porch.¹

I am told that pillow-lace-making is still kept up at Chalfont St. Giles, and that the women may be seen working with pillow and bobbins. Much has lately been done by Mrs. Walter Carlile of Gayhurst to revive this Buckinghamshire industry.

In Domesday, Chalfont is named as *Celfunte*. People have thought the name was derived from the Old English *cealc*, chalk, and *funt*, fountain. Mr. Pownoll Phipps says that the wells of this part of Buckinghamshire are "thickly impregnated with chalk." Others have thought the name might be derived from *Celden-es-funtan*, Chiltern springs.

As regards the church, there is a fine old lych-gate, which turns on a massive centre pivot, and on entering the churchyard the old tower is seen between the yews which lead up to it. The chancel, nave, south aisle, and west tower were all built by the Normans; but the chancel was lengthened in 1220. The east window probably dates from 1320, and there are two large hagioscopes cut through the walls beyond the chancel arch. Over the walls were frescoes of fourteenth century date, but only a few are still remaining, one of which shows Our Lady rescuing a soul from purgatory. But the Rector says that, unfortunately, all the frescoes are fading. Several old encaustic tiles were discovered when the church was restored, and these have been re-laid. The only remaining relics of the medieval furniture are six old benches with "poppyheads" at the ends. The register dates from 1584. Many pieces of ancient glass may be seen in this church, as

¹ *Chalfont S. Giles, Past and Present*, by the Rev. Pownoll Phipps.

CHALFONT ST. GILES AND MILTON.

also some interesting brasses. A number of iron cannon-balls, which Cromwell's troops (after the battle of Aylesbury) fired through the east window, were found, the Rector tells us, in the Rectory garden.

In itself, its church, and surrounding country, Chalfont is full of interest, but, no doubt, in the eyes of most people, this interest centres in the quaint old cottage at the end of the village,¹ in which Milton took refuge during the time of the Plague, and where he finished *Paradise Lost* and began *Paradise Regained*.

It stands close to the road, and beside the gate which opens on to the delightful bit of old-world garden is a big briar bush. The cottage has one large gable, overgrown by creepers, and one of those deep roofs which are so absolutely satisfying to the eye in breadth and that exquisite colouring which only the passage of many years can ever bestow.

On the left, on entering the cottage, is the panelled room, low ceiled, with diamond-paned window, in which many old relics are kept.

In the *History of Thomas Ellwood, Written by Himself*, is the account of how Milton's reader, Thomas Ellwood, had been asked to find a suitable home for his master when he fled from London to escape the ravages of the Plague. Ellwood was then living at the Peningtons' house, and he took lodgings in this cottage at Chalfont for his friend.

Milton came here in 1665 with his third wife. By this time his unappreciative elder daughters had deserted him for their studies in gold and silver embroidery. They do not appear to have had much affection for their blind father, who was by now (and since 1652) entirely dependent on others for everything. But then it is necessary to remember that, from all accounts, Milton was not by any means easy to live with, nor did he enter into the points of view of those with whom he lived; this is shown markedly by the fact that he insisted on his daughters learning from him how to pronounce Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, and Hebrew, though he never instructed them in the meaning of the words. It is not difficult to understand the extreme monotony and dulness they must have felt in constantly having to read aloud to their father in these languages, without understanding one word of what they were reading. It is said that when composing his

¹ See *H. C. M.*, vol. viii, pp. 98, 100.

CHALFONT ST. GILES AND MILTON.

poetry he would dictate thirty or forty of his verses at a time to any one who would take them down.

Ellwood's own account of how he took this cottage for Milton is very interesting:

Some little time before I went to Aylesbury Prison, I was desired by my quondam master, Milton, to take a house for him in the neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city, for the safety of himself and his family, the pestilence then growing hot in London. I took a pretty box for him in Giles Chalfont, a mile from me, of which I gave him notice, and intended to have waited on him and seen him well settled in it, but was prevented by that imprisonment.

But now being released and returned home, I soon made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country.

After some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his, which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leisure, and when I had so done return it to him with my judgment thereupon.

When I came home and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he entitled *Paradise Lost*. . . . He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it, which I modestly but freely told him, and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, "Thou hast said much here of 'Paradise Lost,' but what hast thou to say of 'Paradise Found'?" He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse, then brake off that discourse, and fell upon another subject.

After the Sickness was over, and the City well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, . . . he showed me his second poem, called 'Paradise Regained,' and in a pleasant tone said to me, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

The Rector of Chalfont St. Giles says, in his little book from which I have before quoted, that he was able, through the kindness of Mr. W. Roots, of Marden, Kent, to see the "old trust deeds relating to the house for more than two hundred years." In them is recorded that Milton's cottage has always been divided into two tenements, and that it belonged to the Fleetwoods of the Vache (a manor house, with park, half a mile from Chalfont, part of which dates from the fourteenth century). The deed of sale of the cottage runs thus:

CHALFONT ST. GILES AND MILTON.

David Fletewood to Thomas Cocke the younger, a Carpenter, in consideration of the sum of sixty and three Pounds of good and lawful money of England, on the seven and twentieth day of Aprill in the five and thirtieth yeare of the Reigne of the sovereign Lord Charles the second by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Kinge, Defender of the Faith (1683).

It goes on to say that in one "part of the Cottage Elizabeth Gosnold, widdow, now dwelleth," and in the other "part thereof one William Trewlock, gunsmith, lately dwelt, and its garden and orchard adjoyne to the barne and orchard of one John Barton on East, to the land late of Henry James, Gent., on the South, and to the Green thereon to the West." Between the years 1709 and 1737 it seems to have been known by the name of the "Three Compasses." And this remained its sign till 1807.

Perhaps it is hardly necessary to add here, that, as is so often the case at the present time with regard to other little-appreciated relics of the past in England, American antiquaries wished in 1887 to purchase the old cottage and remove it to America. But happily a public subscription was set going, and it was bought from its owners and saved for the home country. It is said to be the only building remaining to us in which Milton is actually known to have lived. But his stay here was not his first introduction to Buckinghamshire. For when he was 24 years of age he lived for six years with his people at the village of Horton, near Colnbrook. Indeed, it was here that he first deliberately devoted himself to poetry; to which end, Dr. Garnett tells us, he "settled quietly down with the distinct purpose of making himself a poet by study and self discipline."

His father had just retired from business, and came to Horton to enjoy the fortune which he had made. In the old church there (dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century) Milton is known to have worshipped regularly with his father and mother. Here his mother was buried, and a blue stone on the chancel floor testifies to the fact. The house itself in which the family lived is no longer in existence (though Professor Masson states a bit of it remained 90 years ago), but an old apple tree was shown 50 years ago by the villagers as the spot where Milton's poems, *Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, were written. Thus to the inspiration of Buckinghamshire was due, as may very truly be said, seeing how very dependent on

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

outward environment was the poet's muse, Milton's initial devotion to poetry in his early manhood.

In one of the scenes in *Allegro* there are some details which evidently point to the influence of the surrounding country at Horton, the

towers and battlements,
Bosom'd high in tufted trees.

These can be no other than the towers of Windsor Castle, which are plainly seen from across the flat, watery meadows—nay, rather, which dominate the whole neighbourhood. Some miles from Chalfont St. Giles, and its near neighbour Chalfont St. Peter's (not in any way so interesting a village), is Chalfont House, which once was the old manor of Brudenells. The present house was built by General Churchill, but is of no very special interest. There is a beautifully wooded park, and the largest ash tree in England, which measures 25 feet in circumference.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

By FRANCIS EDWIN TYLER.

[Continued from p. 204.]

SOME HISTORIC LONDON CONFLAGRATIONS

IN the year 1087, the citizens of London were greatly alarmed by an outbreak of fire within the precincts of the City, which ultimately destroyed the ancient church of St. Paul's and many other historic edifices, together with the greater portion of the City proper. It must be borne in mind that the houses of that period were mostly built of wood, covered with thatch, which made them an easy prey to any outbreak of fire. As an instance of this, in the year 1135 a great fire broke out at London Bridge, then surmounted by houses, and destroyed all the wooden and thatched houses, and every church, including St. Paul's, between the bridge and St. Clement Dane's.

Although small outbreaks were constantly occurring, the next disastrous one happened on July 10, 1212. The vicinity

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

of London Bridge was again the scene of what can only be termed an awful catastrophe. No fewer than 3,000 bodies, many half charred, were found floating in the Thames. Multitudes of distracted people, who bravely went to the rescue of the inhabitants of the houses on the bridge, were destined to meet with an awful fate. The fire, which began at the southern end of the bridge, rapidly spread to the north side, and hemmed in the inhabitants, making a holocaust of those who were not killed by leaping into the river. For quite a number of years this was spoken of as the "great fire," but that name is now applied to the conflagration of 1666.

The next outbreak of any magnitude happened in 1484, when a large number of houses in the neighbourhood of Leadenhall Street, together with the Magazine of Arms, were destroyed.

Some few years later, on November 21, 1503, at the close of day, a dreadful fire broke out on the north end of London Bridge, which then appears to have borne a reputation similar to that now attached to the neighbourhood of Jewin Street. This outbreak did considerable damage to the bridge and the houses in the immediate vicinity, but there is no record of loss of life.

London then had a respite for many years, but in 1666 the ever-memorable "Great Fire" started on its awful career. We cannot do better than quote the account published by the *London Gazette* of September 10, 1666.

On the second instant, at one of the clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire in Pudding Lane, near New Fish Street, which, falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so closely built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it by pulling down houses, as it ought to have been, so that this lamentable fire in a short time became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it.

It fell out most unhappily, too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Gracechurch Street, and downwards from Cannon Street, to the water-side, so far as the Three Cranes in the Vintry. The people in all parts about it distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods, many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain—the fire seizing upon the timber and

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

rubbish, and so continuing itself even through spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding His Majesty's own, and His Royal Highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people, with their own Guards, and a great number of Nobility and Gentry unwearily assisting them, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people.

By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and meeting with brick buildings in the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and His Royal Highness, never despairing or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the Lords of the Council, before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple Church, near Holborn Bridge, Pye Corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the end of Basinghall Street, by the Postern at the upper end of Bishopsgate Street, and Leadenhall Street, at the Standard at Cornhill, at the Church in Fenchurch Street, near Cloth-workers' Hall in Mincing Lane, and at the Tower Dock.

On Thursday, by the Blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished, but that evening it unhappily burst out again at the Temple by the falling of some sparks (as it is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings. His Royal Highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

As to the cause of the fire nothing definite was known, but divers Dutch and French were apprehended upon suspicion that they were concerned in the outbreak, and were subjected to a severe inquiry by the Lord Chief Justice and Lords in Council, and some principal members of the City. "Notwithstanding these suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forward in all its way by strong winds, makes us conclude that the whole was the effect of an unhappy chance, or to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us for our sins, showing us the terror of his Judgments in thus raising the fire, and immediately after, His miraculous and never enough to be acknowledged mercy in putting a stop to it, when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts to quench it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient."

As the plague by its dreadful ravages in the preceding year

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

had spoiled the houses of the inhabitants, so by this conflagration the surviving citizens were also deprived of their habitations. Many thousands were compelled to retire to the fields, destitute of almost everything, where, for some time, they were exposed to the inclemencies of the weather until a number of huts were built for their accommodation. A proclamation was published for the immediate supply of victuals for their relief, and the King gave a quantity of naval bread to be distributed among them. There is also an extremely interesting, and in some instances amusing, account in the diary of that delightful old gossip, Samuel Pepys. An entry dated September 2, runs as follows:

Some of our maids sitting up late last night to get things ready for our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose and slipped on my nightgown and went to her window; and thought it to be on the back side of Mark Lane at the farthest—but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it was far off enough, and went to bed again, and to sleep. About seven, arose and dressed myself, and by and bye, Jane comes and tells me, that above three hundred houses have been burned down by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning all down Fish Street, by London Bridge.

So I made myself ready, and walked to the Tower, and there got upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me, and there I did see the houses at that end of the Bridge on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side, the end of the Bridge, which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the Bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it began this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding Lane, and that it has burned down St. Magnus' Church, and most part of Fish Street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and went through the Bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire—there I remained one hour watching the burning, and went to Whitehall, and did report what I had seen to the King, and unless His Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. The King seemed much troubled, and he commanded me to go to the Lord Mayor, from him, to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way.

In executing this royal commission Pepys seems to have had some difficulty in finding the Lord Mayor.

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

But at last met my Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkerchief about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting woman, "Lord, what can I do? I am spent; people will not obey me."

On September 3 the diary continues :

About four o'clock in the morning, my Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money and plate, and best things, to Sir W. Rider's at Bednall Greene, which I did, riding myself in my nightgown, in the cart; and Lord! to see how the streets were crowded with people running and riding, and getting carts at any rate to fetch away their goods.

September 4.—Up by break of day, to get away the remainder of my things; which I did by lighter at the Iron Gate (Upper Thames Street). Sir W. Pen and I to the Tower Street, and there met the fire burning, three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trays and dishes, etc., were all flung along Tower Street. Sir W. Batten, not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in his garden, and laid it in there, and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office, that I could not otherwise dispose of, and in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put wine in it, and I my Parmazan cheese as well.

September 5.—I lay down in the office again upon Hewer's quilt, being mighty weary, and sore in my feet with going till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning, my wife calls me up, and tells me of new cries of fire, it being come to Barking church, which is the bottom of our Lane (Seething).

September 6.—Up about five o'clock, and met Mr. Gauden at the gate of the office. I intending to go out as I used, to see how the fire is, to call our men to Bishopsgate, where no fire had yet been near and there is one now broke out. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the Canals, sweeping of water, but then they would scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people give and take handfuls out, and put it into beer and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwarke, and then to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all dirty, but could not there find a place to buy a shirt or a pair of gloves, Westminster Hall being full of peoples' goods.

September 7.—Up by five o'clock; and, Blessed be to God! find all well, and go by water to Paul's Wharf. Walked

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

thence, and saw all the town burned, and a miserable sight at St. Paul's church, with all the roofs fallen. Paul's School also, Ludgate, and Fleet Street. So to Creed's lodgings, near the New Exchange, and there find him in bed. There borrowed a shirt of him and washed.

September 17.—Up betimes, and shaved myself after a week's growth: but, Lord! how ugly I was yesterday, and how fine to-day.

Such then is a brief account of the most terrible calamity that London has ever known, and, one sincerely hopes, will not see again.

The task of rebuilding the city was one of great magnitude, but it was apparent that the authorities had learned a lesson from the Great Fire, as wooden houses were entirely abolished, and buildings of stone or brick took their places.

In 1744 the citizens were thrown into a state of panic by an alarming outbreak in Cornhill. About one o'clock on Friday morning, March 25, the shop of Mr. Eldridge, a peruke-maker, in Exchange Alley, was found to be well alight. The fire was caused by the carelessness of a boy, who let a lighted candle come into contact with some wig boxes, which were soon blazing furiously. Another account puts the blame on the shoulders of a servant, in the employ of a shopkeeper whose premises adjoined Mr. Eldridge's, who, having shut up her stall, left a candle burning. The flames spread with marvellous rapidity in three different directions, and before midday on Saturday had destroyed nearly one hundred houses in Cornhill, Birchin Lane, Exchange Alley, George Yard, and all the avenues in proximity. There were upwards of fifty engines, which were well manned by the people, and also a plentiful supply of water, but the wind being south-south-west, all the bankers' houses in Lombard Street and their effects were safe. The only public office to suffer was the London Assurance. The Company were fortunately able to save all their books and papers, but their premises were entirely demolished. The flames extended into Cornhill, and destroyed many famous coffee-houses, historic taverns, and private mansions. Mr. Eldridge, his wife, children, and servants, were all burnt; a gentleman, who resided with them, jumped from the window and broke his leg, dying shortly after.

The damage and loss to property was enormous, for Cornhill was then one of the richest properties in the City. Great credit was due to the Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Lad-

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

broke, and other distinguished aldermen, for their conduct in helping to quell the fire.

A fresh outbreak occurred on March 26 and 27, but was speedily extinguished. There had not been so dreadful a fire since that of 1666, and a relief fund, started on behalf of the sufferers, was liberally subscribed to by the citizens.

Curiously enough, a few years later, a fire occurred at a shop tenanted by another Mr. Eldridge, a barber in Cornhill, all the unfortunate inmates of the house being burnt in their beds. All the houses from the north entrance into Change Alley to St. Michael's Church in the north, and from the north-west corner of the said alley, to the church of St. Edmund the King, in Lombard Street, on the south-east, were consumed. So great was the distress (many of the unfortunate sufferers not being insured) that a fund was started for their relief; the amount raised reached £5,774 19s. 4d.

In 1780 the Gordon Riots broke out. The story of this insurrection is so well known that we do not propose to give it in detail here, save to refer to the burning of Newgate, which episode comes within the province of this paper. After gathering in force at St. George's Fields, and listening to an inflammatory speech by their wild leader, Lord George Gordon, the rioters began their march of destruction. Whatever measures were adopted proved useless, and the authorities were absolutely powerless to stop the mob. The rioters seemed bent on wreaking their vengeance on Newgate Prison, and on arriving in front of the gaol, demanded the release of the prisoners confined within its walls. The Governor refused to comply with their request, and sent a messenger in haste to the Sheriff for instructions. The delay proved fatal, and on the messenger's return he found the prison in flames. The few constables present were easily beaten back, the rioters using lighted brands as weapons. Nearly 400 felons were released from the burning prison; no lives were lost during the process. Not satisfied with the destruction of Newgate, the rioters next turned their attention to the other prisons of the Metropolis, including Clerkenwell, the Fleet, King's Bench, and Bridewell. These they set on fire, after releasing the inmates. The frenzied mob next made for Holborn, where they set fire to the Swan Distillery. The liquor ran down the streets, and men and women drank themselves to death.

Coming to more recent years, in 1836 an alarming outbreak

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

occurred at Fenning's Wharf, London Bridge; the damage sustained amounting to £250,000. The year 1838 witnessed the destruction of the Royal Exchange; and, in 1841, a fire broke out at the armoury in the Tower of London, when 280,000 stands of arms, etc., were destroyed. In 1861 a fire befell that spread consternation far and wide, beside causing enormous damage to property on the riverside. This was the now famous Tooley Street blaze, when Cotton's wharf and dépôt, and numerous other wharves and warehouses, containing oil and other combustible substances, caught fire, and burnt for a whole month from June 22. Several persons were killed, including the able Superintendent of the London Fire Brigade, James Braidwood. The value of property destroyed was estimated at £2,000,000.

In 1862 four persons met their death at a fire in Fore Street; and in December, 1863, a great conflagration broke out in Wood Street and Milk Street, Cheapside, damaging property to the extent of over £100,000. In 1877 a fatal fire occurred in Little Britain, when four unfortunate men met their death; and in the same year the Scottish Corporation Hall in Crane Court, built by Sir Christopher Wren, was destroyed.

Passing over a few years, on April 23, 1884, the Bell Hotel, situated in the Old Bailey, was destroyed, three young women being burnt to death. In 1889 the historic district of Smithfield was the scene of a rather serious outbreak. The building attacked was the London Central Market, and thirty shops were severely damaged.

The year 1890 witnessed a really terrible calamity, for at a fire on the premises of Messrs. Rowley and Brock, hat makers, Cloth Fair, three men and five women met a terrible death. In the same year the premises of Messrs. Davidson, paper merchants, and sixteen other large manufacturing firms, were destroyed; the damage was estimated at £500,000.

The next large conflagration was the now famous Cripple-gate fire, which broke out on November 19, 1897, and perhaps was the most alarming of all since the Great Fire of 1666. The history of this occurrence, which wrought enormous damage to property—though luckily without loss of life—is doubtless so well remembered that there is no need for the writer to go into minor details. However, the following few facts will doubtless prove of interest—especially as the conflagration will be numbered with past historic events. The outbreak occurred on the premises of Messrs. Waller and

SURVEY OF THE LONDON FIRE BRIGADE.

Brown, mantle manufacturers, of 30 and 31, Hamsell Street. Fortunately it was at midday, and all the factory hands were away enjoying their dinners, otherwise the loss of life would have been awful. The buildings on either side were soon involved, and in a few minutes it was evident that an extremely dangerous fire was in progress. The neighbouring thoroughfares, Jewin Street, Hamsell Street, and numerous minor avenues and courts were attacked in turn, the whole area soon becoming one mass of smoke and flames. A large force of firemen, with a numerous supply of engines, were soon hard at work in their endeavour to quell the outbreak, but all in vain. It spread with alarming rapidity, the flames soon finding fresh victims. At one period the grand old church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, seemed in danger of being entirely wiped out, but, happily, it had a very fortunate escape. Another historic pile, Barbers' Hall in Monkswell Street, was seriously threatened, but fortunately it got off with a bad scorching. The conflagration, owing to the almost superhuman efforts of the firemen, was eventually got under, but not until the whole area was left a mass of smoking ruins. Over fifty steamers and 288 firemen, with a large number of fire-escapes, etc., were engaged in quelling the outbreak, and the quantity of water used amounted to 15,000,000 gallons—equal to a weight of 67,000 tons. The valuable property destroyed and damaged can safely be put down at £2,000,000; but this total does not err on the side of exaggeration. By an ancient, and certainly far-seeing, provision, the City Coroner held an inquiry into the cause of the disaster, with the result that the jurymen came to the conclusion that it was wilfully caused by some person, or persons, unknown.

The writer feels that he can at this point bring this short paper to its conclusion, with just a few words in praise of the brave officers and men of both those splendid corps—the Metropolitan Fire Brigade and the London Salvage Corps.

Their task is oftentimes an unenviable and, assuredly, a most dangerous occupation, and, even if their appliances are open to criticism, there is no need to remark that, for personal bravery, fearlessness, and hard work, there is no finer body of men than those whose duty it is to protect human life and property from the terrors of the fire-fiend.

NOTES ON THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

By C. W. FORBES, Member of the Essex Archaeological Society.

[Continued from p. 186.]

RAWRETH.

THIS village lies about two miles north-east of Wickford. The church, with the exception of the tower, is a modern structure built in 1883, said to have replaced a Georgian brick building. The tower dates from about the middle of the fifteenth century. There may have been an earlier church, but the only fragments left are three pieces of stone which are believed to be the tops of some trefoil-headed windows; these have been built into the modern walls to preserve them, two in the porch and one in the north aisle.

The present church, built of stone, is in the late Perpendicular style, and consists of a chancel nave with north aisle and chapel, and north porch. The tower contains two undated bells.

The Purbeck marble shaft of the font is original work; the basin is modern.

There are two brasses which read as follows:

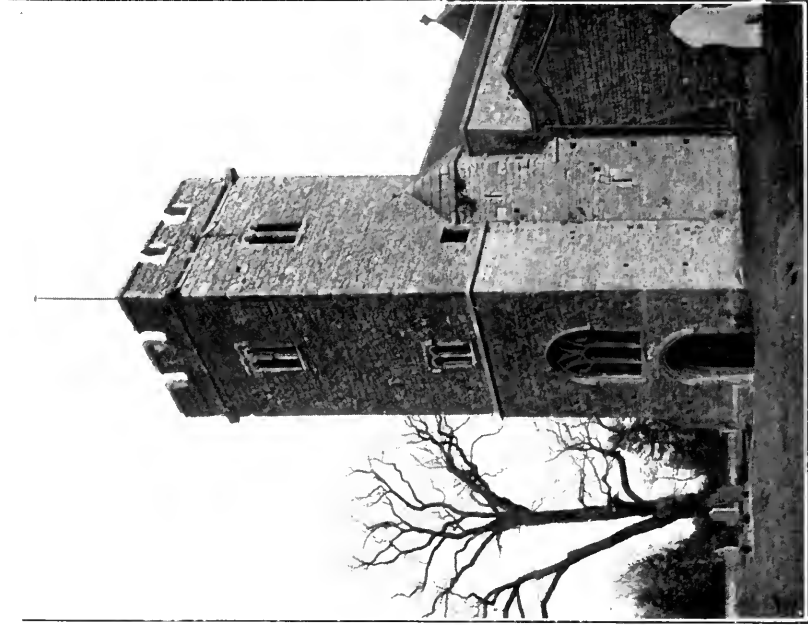
Hereunder lyeth y^e bodie of Edmunde Tyrell late of Beaches & Ramesdon Barringtons Esquier, who died at Whitestaple in Kent y^e viij day of November in the yeare of o^r Lord 1576 god graunte him a blessed resurrection. (In the north aisle.)

Of yo^r charite pray for the Soules of Thomas Hasteler, Alys Elynore Johān hys wyf which Thomas decessed y^e xxv day of January y^e yer' of o^r Lord m^v°xxvii. On whos soules Ihū have mercy. (In the nave.)

The communion plate was made in 1882. The Register dates from 1539.

RUNWELL.

Runwell, Runewelle, or Ronewelle, as it is spelt in ancient records, is said to have derived its name from a constantly running well; the village is situated about a mile to the north of Wickford.

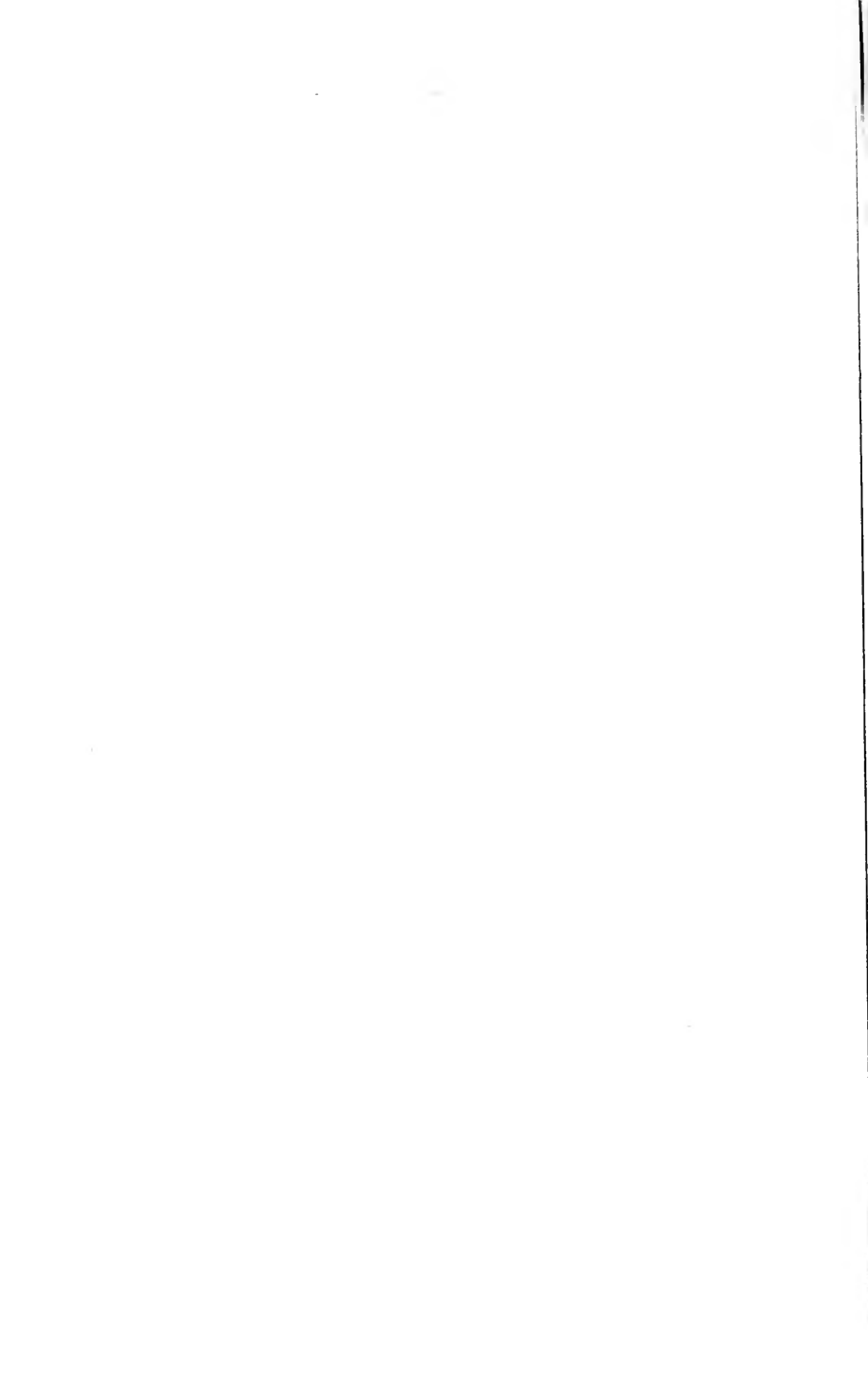


Rawreth Church.



Runwell Church.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

The church consists of a nave, south aisle with chapel, chancel, tower with a short turret at top and north and south porches. The church, as is shown by the pillars dividing the nave and aisle, dates from about the end of the twelfth century. Though there is no trace of an earlier structure, it is presumed that there must have been one, as the principal manor is said to have belonged to the Cathedral church of St. Paul's from the time of Athelstan.

The lower portions of the walls of the church are believed to belong to the twelfth century, but when the tower, which is built of Kentish ragstone, was added (probably near the end of the fourteenth century) the church appears to have been practically rebuilt.

The tower walls are 3 ft. 6 in. thick, strengthened at the angles by massive buttresses. In it are four bells; three have the inscription "Robertus mot me fecit 1591"; the fourth has the words "Recast by Mears & Stainbank, Founders, London, 1889. Sancte Petre ora pro nobis."

There are three doorways, north, south and west; all three are Pointed, with but little ornamentation; the south and west doors are closed.

In the wall on the west side of the exterior of the north doorway are the remains of a holy-water stoup.

The north and south doorways both have fine timber porches, similar in construction; on the front of the north porch there was at one time an inscription, now too weatherworn to be legible; over the south porch is a niche for an image.

In the north wall of the nave are two double-light windows, the west window in the tower, over the doorway, is a round-topped window of three lights. The south aisle is lighted by two windows similar to those in the nave; in some of these windows are fragments of ancient glass.

It is assumed that at the time the tower was erected the nave windows were enlarged, the doorways rebuilt, and the timber porches added.

Between the nave and aisle are four pointed arches, supported by three round pillars with moulded capitals. The aisle extends the entire length of the building; the portion to the south of the chancel was formerly two chapels, as shown by the remains of two Pointed piscinas to be seen there; it is now used as an organ chamber.

Between this and the chancel is an hagioscope, which formerly looked on to the High Altar; the chancel having

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

been rebuilt and extended some twelve feet in 1907, the squint is now out of position. The east window is practically all modern work, although the original stones were used in the reconstruction as far as possible. In the south porch is a portion of the original chancel screen.

The south aisle has also been extended, the east window taken out, a door made in the wall, and a vestry added.

The font, attributed to the early part of the thirteenth century, is an octagonal basin, with a simple round moulding at the base, supported by an octagonal shaft and base.

Attached to the interior of the north doorway, on the east side, is an old alms-box; it consists of two blocks of wood, hinged together, and fastened with two ancient padlocks, with curiously cut keys; the lower block is hollowed out to form a receptacle for coins, the top piece having a slot cut through it. This box disappeared from the church for many years, but was found offered for sale in an old furniture shop at Chelmsford; it was purchased, returned to the church, and refixed in its original position. Attached to the bottom was a note marked "Rubbish from Runwell Church"!

In the east wall of the tower, opening into the aisle close under the roof, is a wooden doorway, about four feet by two; it is thought that this may have been made for the use of the bellringer, to enable him to receive a signal for ringing one of the bells as a Sanctus bell at the Elevation of the Host.

In the base of the north wall of the chancel, partly built in, is a fine sepulchral slab, having a raised ornamental cross; there are fragments of similar slabs at the entrances of the north and south porches.

On the north wall of the chancel is a fine brass to Eustace Sulyard and his wife Margaret Ayloff, dated 1587. Both effigies are kneeling, facing one another in the attitude of prayer, on cushions before faldstools; there is a long inscription at the bottom, and three shields above.

On the south wall of the chancel is a marble monument with shield and inscription to Edward Sulyard. The inscription runs "In the neighbouring earth lyes the Body of Edward Sulyard, who died the vij day of November, MDCXCII, aged LXXII, being the last of his House and Family."

On the floor of the nave and tower are several other slabs to the Sulyards and others who were connected with this family. The Sulyards were patrons of the living during the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.



South Porch, Runwell Church.

Photographs by C. W. Forbes.



North Porch, Runwell Church.

THE EARLY CHURCHES OF SOUTH ESSEX.

The list of Rectors dates from 1181. The register begins in 1558. On the cover of the first volume is this inscription :

This old Register which has been lost beyond living memory was recovered on the 28th Sept. 1870, per Rev. W. Stubbs, Vicar of St. James, Pentonville, who accidentally discovered it, and restored it to the Rector of Runwell.

NEVENDON.

Nevendon is a village some two miles south of Wickford. The church is a small one of the Early English Period, with little of interest; it consists of a chancel and nave with no chancel arch; there is a small bell-turret on the western gable, containing one bell.

The north and south doorways are fourteenth century. The south door is closed.

In the chancel are four Early English windows; the nave has two two-light trefoil-headed fourteenth-century windows. The east and west windows are also of the Decorated Period.

In the north wall of the chancel is an aumbry; at the eastern end of the south wall of the nave, near the pulpit, are the remains of a cinquefoil piscina.

In the north doorway are the remains of a holy-water stoup.

NOTE.—The Tyrell brass at Rawreth [p. 298] has two figures kneeling on cushions before desks, on each of which is an open book. On the left is a man with close-cropped beard, in full plate armour; in front of his desk lie a helmet and a pair of gauntlets. On the right is a lady, wearing a French hood and a falling collar. Above are three shields with the following arms: (Left) Quarterly—(1) two chevrons within a border enrailed, (2) paly of six, (3) on a chevron enrailed three dolphins, (4) a cross between four escallops; in fess point a mullet. (Right) On a chevron between three roundels three cinquefoils, on a chief three columbines. (Centre) The same two shields impaled. In this church are also brasses (inscriptions only) to Richard Hay, Esq., died July 26, 1600, aged 40, and to Rebecca, daughter of William Warde of Barkway and wife of Robert Listney, died August 26, 1602.

There are two bells of early fourteenth century date; one is blank, the other is inscribed *Jam tempus est.* (Deedes and Walters, *Church Bells of Essex.*)

[To be continued.]

CANONBURY TOWER.

BY C. EDGAR THOMAS.

FROM the modern busy thoroughfare known as Islington High Street, with its constant street-cries and never-ceasing noise of traffic, one passes down the quieter Canonbury Lane, through Canonbury Square, to the venerable Tower beyond; a commanding ancient pile, looking strangely out of place among even the oldest of the houses which encompass it. Repaired, and consequently to a certain extent modernized, robbed of its numerous outbuildings, its former pleasaunces now represented by a small garden with one straggling mulberry tree, the Tower stands alone, a survival of a past age, a forlorn picture of its former greatness.

The property subsequently known as Canonbury seems to have been originally part of the manor of Bernersbury, now Barnsbury, in Islington, which was held by the family of Berners under the Bishops of London. In 1253 Ralph de Berners gave an estate at Islington to the Priory of St. Bartholomew at West Smithfield, a house of Augustinian canons, and this property therefore became known as Canonsbury, or Canonbury. Exhaustive researches have failed to produce any account of the buildings at Canonbury prior to the sixteenth century, though Lysons mentions a tradition that Canonbury House was used as a country residence by the Priors of St. Bartholomew's. Stow says that William Bolton, who was Prior from 1509-32, "builded of new the manor of Chanonbury at Islington, which belonged to the canons of this house, and is situate in a ground, somewhat north from the parish church there," from which it would appear that earlier buildings had existed. The houses which were erected for the Priory have now disappeared, and in their place stand modern residences, but Canonbury Tower—the finest existing specimen of the later Tudor style of building in the north of London—is still happily preserved to us.

Originally the buildings formed a large rectangle, with a courtyard, to the south of which lay a pleasure ground, but the courtyard is now covered by Canonbury Place. In a wall in the Tower is still preserved Bolton's rebus, a bird-bolt in



The Font, Runwell.



Nevendon Church

CANONBURY TOWER.

a tun, and on a wall in the south side of the quadrangle is a stone with the date 1562 carved in relief, although some writers state these figures to be 1362. Prior Bolton was succeeded in 1532 by Robert Fuller, Abbot of Waltham. He surrendered the property to Henry VIII on the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1539, when this manor and the neighbouring one of Highbury were granted to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. A year later Canonbury escheated to the Crown on the attainder and subsequent execution of Cromwell for High Treason. A sum of £20 a year was paid out of the estate towards the jointure of Anne of Cleves, the King's divorced wife. John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was presented with the manor by Edward VI; he mortgaged it in 1549 for £1,660, but redeemed it shortly afterwards, and by a deed dated July 18, 4 Edward VI, 1550, conveyed it back again to his Sovereign, who retained it for a period of two years, and then made a fresh grant of it to the Duke.

On Mary's accession to the throne he also was attainted and executed, and the property again escheated to the Crown. Mary then gave Canonbury to David Broke, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and his wife, for the term of their lives.

It evidently came again into her hands, for we read that on June 10, 1556, the manor was granted by her to Thomas, Lord Wentworth, who retained possession until 1570, when he disposed of it for £2,600 to Sir John Spencer, a Clothworker of the City of London, Lord Mayor in 1594-5; already possessed of a town residence in Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate Street—recently demolished—he made Canonbury his country home. He is supposed to have rebuilt the eastern wing of the premises, and the handsome ceilings which it formerly possessed are attributed to his taste.

Sir John Spencer died March 3, 1609-10, and was buried in the Church of St. Helen, Bishopsgate, which adjoined his town residence. A thousand persons are said to have assisted in this last stage of his earthly journey, while 320 poor men benefitted to the following extent by his will: "a blacke gowne, four pounds of beef, two loaves of bread, a little bottle of wine, a candlestick, a pound of candles, two saucers, two spoons, a black pudding, a pair of gloves, a dozen points, two red herrings, four white herrings, six sprats, and two eggs."

Canonbury now came into the possession of his only daughter and heiress Elizabeth, and "thereby hangs a tale," a romantic love story. It would appear that she was sought

CANONBURY TOWER.

in marriage, against her father's wish, by William, Lord Compton, but the gallant lord bravely defied the objections and vigilance of the stern parent, and carried his lady-love off in a clothes-basket! The old chroniclers are at variance with each other in their several accounts; one says that the future Lady Compton was lowered in the basket from the topmost room in the tower, the scene of her confinement, a perilous venture, indeed, since the tower is fifty-eight feet high. The truth or otherwise of this pretty tale, as is the case with many others, remains to this day a mystery.

Sir John, naturally, waxed exceeding wrathful at his daughter's disobedience, but owing to the ready tact of good Queen Bess, who had evinced an interest in the romantic couple, a reconciliation was soon effected. On the birth of a child to them, she asked Sir John to become sponsor to the child of a couple whose parents had thrown them off. He agreed, informing the Queen that having disinherited his daughter, he would make the child his heir. The old knight thus stood sponsor to his own grandchild, and the curtain descends on this scene with the usual all-round forgiveness. The eldest son, Spencer Compton, was born at Compton Wynnyates in 1601. A daughter, Ann, was baptised at Islington, September 6, 1605; she was probably born at Canonbury.

During the time that elapsed between her marriage and her succession to the estate of her father, Lady Compton had evidently oft contemplated the change in her fortunes that this step would bring about, and drawing up a declaration of things she wished granted to her, she laid it before her husband. This curious document is given *in extenso* by the majority of historians, and the reader who is anxious to see it in full, has only to refer to one of the many histories of Islington. Briefly, she desired £1,600 for clothes, £600 for charity, three horses for her exercise, a further £10,000 for jewellery, twenty dresses, and two maidservants to attend her.

On the Comptons assuming possession of the estate the responsibility so affected Lord Compton, that he became temporarily insane, and trustees were appointed to conduct his affairs. With the lapse of time, however, he regained his reason, and was created Earl of Northampton in 1618.

Soon after Sir John Spencer's death, Canonbury House was let to Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley, the Lord Chancellor, and again in 1616 to Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, and later on to Lord Keeper Coventry. The



Tudor Doorway, Canonbury House.
Drawn by Oswald Stanley.



CANONBURY TOWER.

various leases can all be found in Tomlin's *Perambulation of Islington*. The Earl died in 1630, and his widow in 1632.

Owing to debts incurred through his loyalty during the Civil War, James, third Earl of Northampton, was obliged to mortgage Canonbury in 1650, and again in 1661. At his death in 1681 the family apparently gave up residence at Canonbury House, and it henceforth served as an abode for the stewards of the estate, who soon afterwards began the practice of letting the rooms to gentlemen desiring peace and quietness. The following advertisement appeared in a paper of the period :

At Canbury Mansion house, near Islington, Elegant rooms to lett genteely furnished by G. Delfosse. This situation is so well known to the Faculty, that they have constantly with great success recommended it where a pure fine air is necessary for recovery and establishment of health. Its contiguity to the principal parts of the metropolis and the conveniency of a *sixpenny stage* every hour to the City, Holloway and Temple Bar, and parts adjacent, render it exceedingly convenient. Coach house and stabling if wanted.

These advertisements were quickly responded to, and the Tower soon became full of tenants, chiefly belonging to the legal and literary professions.

Ephraim Chambers, the compiler of a Cyclopædia, which formed the basis of all such modern works, lived here, and, dying in May, 1740, was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Oliver Goldsmith became a resident from 1762-64, but authorities differ as to which of his works were written here. *The Vicar of Wakefield* is generally supposed to have been commenced at Canonbury Tower. The exact rooms which the poet occupied cannot be identified with any degree of certainty ; some authorities state that they were situated actually in the Tower itself, others that they were in the Turret house.

Newberry, the bookseller, was for some time a tenant, and it is recorded that Goldsmith frequently escaped to his rooms to elude his creditors.

Samuel Humphryes, the author of *Ulysses*, died here in 1737, and Christopher Smart, the "mad poet," also for a period rented rooms. Among others who have resided at Canonbury Tower may be mentioned Dr. Samuel Johnson, William Hone, who wrote *The Everyday Book*, etc., Woodfall, who printed *The Letters of Junius*, Robert Horsfield, one of Pope's book-

CANONBURY TOWER.

sellers, and afterwards treasurer to the Stationers' Company, and Harrison, the printer of the *London Gazette*.

In after years Washington Irving resided in the room reputed to have formerly been occupied by Goldsmith, and in his *Tales of a Traveller* he has left us this graphic picture of his experiences :

In a few days I was quietly established in my new quarters ; my books all arranged ; my writing-desk placed by the window looking out into the fields, and I felt as snug as Robinson Crusoe when he had finished his bower . . . I rambled about in the fields where I fancied Goldsmith had rambled. I explored "Merry Islington ;" ate my solitary dinner at the Black Bull, which according to tradition was the country seat of Sir Walter Raleigh, and would sit and sip my wine, and muse on old times, in the quaint old room where many a council had been held. . . . But Sunday came and with it the whole world swarming about Canonbury Castle. I could not open my window lest I was stunned with shouts and noises from the cricket ground ; the late quiet road beneath my window was alive with the tread of feet and the clack of tongues ; and to complete my misery, I found that my quiet retreat was absolutely a 'show-house,' the tower and its contents being shown to strangers at sixpence a head. There was a perpetual streaming upstairs of citizens and their families to look about the country from the top of the tower and to take a peep at the city through a telescope to try if they could discern their own chimneys. And then, in the midst of a vein of thought or a moment of inspiration, I was interrupted, and all my ideas put to flight by my intolerable landlady's tapping at the door and asking me if I would 'just please to let a lady and gentlemen come in to take a look at Mr. Goldsmith's room?' If you know anything about what an author's study is, and what an author is himself, you must know there was no standing this. I put a positive interdict on my room's being exhibited ; but then it was shown when I was absent and my papers put in confusion ; and on returning home one day I absolutely found a coarse tradesman and his daughters gazing over my manuscripts and my landlady in a panic at my appearance. I tried to make out a little longer by taking the key in my pocket ; but it would not do. I overheard my hostess one day telling some of her customers on the stairs that the room was occupied by an author who was always in a tantrum if interrupted ; and I immediately perceived, by a slight noise at the door that they were peeping at me through the key-

CANONBURY TOWER.

hole. By the head of Apollo but this was too much! With all my eagerness for fame, and my ambition of the stare of the million I had no idea of being exhibited by retail at 6*d.* a head, and that through a keyhole. So I bade adieu to Canonbury Castle, Merry Islington, and the haunts of poor Goldsmith, without having advanced a single line in my labours.

John Dawes, a wealthy stockbroker, obtained a lease of Canonbury Tower for sixty-one years in 1770, and made various structural alterations, pulling down the buildings on the south side, and erecting a number of new houses on the site. He also modernized the buildings in the eastern side of the quadrangle, which were made into three separate residences. Two large bay windows were also built by him in the western portion of the premises.

During the early part of the last century, the bailiff of the estate lived in the Tower; afterwards the Islington Young Men's Society of the Church of England made it their headquarters, and later the Canonbury Constitutional Club occupied it for twenty years.

On the expiration of the Club's lease, the Marquess of Northampton conceived an idea for utilizing the old place as a social club-house for the tenants of his estate. During 1907-8, the Tower was completely repaired and renovated for this purpose, and a new hall was built for social gatherings.

On entering the Tower, we pass into what remains of the old stone-paved hall, from which access is gained to the little garden previously mentioned. The ancient staircase and balustrades have where necessary been renewed, but a goodly portion of the old oak woodwork still remains. The Tower has many quaint little rooms, which, with one or two exceptions, are devoid of special interest. Goldsmith's room is still shown on the first floor. The Spencer and Compton rooms are panelled with oak, and the mantelpieces are finely carved; that in the Compton room has two female figures, carved in bold relief, representing Faith and Hope, beneath which are placed the following Latin inscriptions:

SPES CERTA SVPRA

FIDES VIA DEVS META

The ceilings of the rooms are not, unfortunately in keeping with the handsome wainscoting, etc., being quite plain. Two of the original ceilings are, however, still preserved in Somerset

CANONBURY TOWER.

Lodge, which was formed into a separate house during John Dawes' tenancy in 1771. One is composed of a pattern of raised bands and panels of various shapes and sizes, containing devices in the form of vases, flowers, ships, heads, etc., together with the motto of the Garter and the Royal Arms. The other is an elaborate affair of raised bands, intersecting circles and quatrefoils, etc.; a very handsome piece of work. In this same house was a chimney-piece bearing the arms of Sir John Spencer (silver, two bars between three eagles displayed sable) until its removal to the library at Compton Wynyates, the moated Warwickshire seat of the Marquess of Northampton. If one ascends to the top of the Tower, this inscription may be seen on the wall of the top staircase landing:

WILL: CON. WILL. RVFVS. HEN. STEPHANVS HENQ: SECVN-
DVS | RI. IOHN: HEN. TERTIVS ED. TRES: RI. SECVNDVS: HEN.
TRES. ED: BINI: RI. TERTIVS SEPTIMVS: HENRY | OCTAVVS
POST HVNC ED. SEXT. REG. MAR: ELIZABETHA SORO: SVC-
CEDIT F= IACOBVS | SVBSEQVITVR CHAROLVS QVI LONGO
TEMPO. MORS TVA, MORS CHRISTI, FRAVS MVNDI, GLORIA
COELI ET DOLOR INFERNI, SINT MEDITANDA TIBI.

The = marks some letters where an erasure in the plaster has obliterated all trace of them.

From the leads one may enjoy a delightful panoramic view over the housetops of the neighbourhood, to the heights of Hampstead and Highgate, and, in the other direction, on a clear day, to the Surrey Hills. The old weather-vane, although much battered, was found to be otherwise in good preservation; it has been provided with a new pole of pitch pine, and replaced in its former position.

During the rebuilding, many interesting things were brought to light. Over the doorway of one room, a pistol bullet was found firmly embedded in the wainscoting. Other discoveries included an old bodkin of the Elizabethan period engraved with the initials I. K., pipes, coins, etc. To give an exhaustive account of the interesting finds during the renovation of Canonbury Tower would take up too much space, and it has already been done by Major C. E. Dance, to whose admirable account of the work I would refer the reader who is desirous of more information.¹

¹ *An Historical Account of Canonbury Tower*, by Henry W. Fincham, with a description of its recent restoration, by Major C. E. Dance. Charles Cull and Son. 1908.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

BY PETER DE SANDWICH.

[Continued from p. 198.]

WEST CLIFF.

1569. (Archbishop Parker's Visitation.)

RECTORY:—Impropriator, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

Curate:—Dom William Watts, Vicar of Bewsfeld (where he is described as, not a preacher nor licensed to preach, not a graduate).—(Fol. 56.)

That we lack the Bible in the largest volume, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

Our Minister doth his service sometimes in a surplice and sometimes without one.

They lack the Queen Majesty's Injunctions.

Our Minister doth minister the Communion in the finest white bread.

They lack their quarter sermons.—(Vol. 1569.)

1583. George Tucke,¹ gentleman, for that he hath not received the Holy Communion in our parish or elsewhere to my knowledge, since Easter was twelve-months.—(Vol. 1577-83.)

1606. We have a Book of Common Prayer and a Bible, but to my knowledge we have no Book of Homilies, because our Minister is a preacher.

2. Our Communion Table hath no carpet of silk or other decent stuff, but only a white linen cloth to lay on it when our Communion is administered, and that our Table is not so seemly as it ought to be.

3. We have no Degrees of Marriages [forbidden] in our parish to my knowledge.

¹ The Toke or Tooke family possessed Bere Court in this parish from before the time of Henry V. George Toke was the only son of Richard and Margaret (Pipe) Toke. George married Peyton, the daughter of Thomas Monins, by whom he had eight sons and five daughters. He died in 1611.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

4. We have a pulpit-cloth of black buckram, and a Communion cup of silver, but our surplice is insufficient, and our Minister doth mislike to wear it.—(Fol. 74.)

1607. We present Philip Gibbon of the parish of Westcliff for that he refuseth or delayeth to pay the sum of 40s., which he is cessed at towards the reparations of the parish church, the same having been demanded of him.

When he appeared in Court he stated:—that in the time that he was churchwarden of the parish he did lay out and disburse the several sums of money in a schedule or note to these presents annexed, for necessary ornaments for the church of Westcliff, which do extend unto the sum of 19s., but for that he is taxed and cessed at a greater rate than other parishioners, and which have more and better land than he hath.

Schedule:—

The several sums of money that Philip Gibbon hath laid out for necessary ornaments in the church of Westcliff.

A new Book of Common Prayer, 4s.

A yard of black bay to cover the pulpit, 2s. 8d.

The Ten Commandments in the east end of the church, according to the Article in that behalf provided, 3s.

A Table of Degrees in the church likewise, 1s.

A Book of Canons, 1s.

The Book of Articles, 1s.

A Book of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Great Deliverance, 1s.—(Fol. 97.)

Our Minister doth wear the surplice, but he weareth no hood that we know of.

He doth not catechise the children in his parish, as is required.

When Edmund Tanner, the Minister, appeared in Court he stated:—The churchwardens do not, nor hath not, provided a sufficient surplice for him to wear, otherwise he doth not refuse to wear the surplice.—(Fol. 119.)

Our chancel lacketh tiling, which Mr. Tucke should mend, but hath not, though he have been spoken to of it.—(Fol. 120.)

1608. That the church is not sufficiently repaired and seemly paved. We present that the chamber or loft under

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

the bells is not birthed or boarded, but lieth all open very dangerously.—(Fol. 132.)

We have a parchment book as is required [for Registers], but the chest wherein we keep it, hath but one lock and key.—(Fol. 149.)

We present our Minister for that on Wednesdays and Fridays he doth not read prayers in our church, as he is required.

He weareth the surplice but seldom, and I have not seen him wear any hood at all.

That he doth not catechise the youth of our parish.

That to my knowledge our Minister hath not, nor doth not, wear a hood or tippet, nor a square cap.

When Edmund Tanner appeared in the Court on December 10, he confessed:—That of late time he hath not read service on Wednesdays and Fridays, for that none of the parishioners will come to prayers on the same days, and that the parish is small and not above six households. That he weareth the surplice usually, but not every Sunday, for that sometimes coming in the rain to the church, his cloak is wet, so that he doth not wear the surplice. That he hath heretofore observed and used to catechise the youth, but for that of late they neglect to come, he hath omitted to perform the same.

That at St. Margaret at Cliffe, where he is Vicar, he doth wear the square cap, but that Westcliff is some mile or thereabout from St. Margaret's, he doth not bring his square cap thither with him; and further that he hath not as yet provided him a tippet or hood, but will shortly.—(Fol. 153.)

1609. Our Minister, Mr. Edmund Tanner, for not serving our church on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, as is required.

He doth not catechise, except in Lent, and he hath not read the Book of Canons in one whole year.—(Fol. 175.)

Our Curate, Mr. Tanner, for brawling in our church on Palm Sunday, being a day of celebrating the Holy Communion.—(Fol. 175.)

The chancel is not sufficiently paved.

Mr. George Tucke, for being absent from church thirty-one Sundays in one whole year, and for refusing to pay 12*d.* the day to the poor for those days.

Mr. George Tucke, for not paying his cess towards the reparations of the church, being 8*s.* 4*d.*—(Vol. 1602-9.)

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

1615. The carpet for the Communion Table is somewhat old, and we purpose to buy a new carpet.

We want a decent cloth or cushion for the pulpit, and that we want such a manner of flagon certified in the Article, but our wine is brought for the Communion in a fair glass bottle, but we purpose to provide both these.

The seats in our church are not well maintained, but we do such reparations purpose to amend.—(Fol. 123.)

1616. That our Minister doth now and then, more than beseemeth a man of his calling, resort to ale-houses and taverns.—(Fol. 142; vol. 1609-18.)

1639. Thomas Tooke, esquire, now of this parish, for not paying of his church cess in the year 1634, where he then dwelt, being 18s.

Also for not paying his church cess in this parish in the year 1635, where he then dwelt, he being cessed at 27s.

Also for the year 1636, being £4. All these cesses amount to £6 5s.—(Fol. 264; vol. 1636-9.)

NEWINGTON NEXT HYTHE (Now in Elham Deanery)

RIVER.

[1557? Cardinal Pole's Visitation.]

William Knight of River, for that he did jest and rail of [on?] the Gospel, when the priest did read it in the pulpit, and did say that he played "jack apye."

1563. It is presented that the chancel is very ruinous and in decay.

They lack the Paraphrase of Erasmus, the default of the parson.—(Vol. 1563-64.)

1569. (Archbishop Parker's Visitation.)

Rectory:—Impropiator, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Vicarage in patronage of the same.

Vicar:—Dom Richard Phontayne, who is married, and does not reside, having also the Vicarage of Lydden and of Ewell in the same Deanery; not a preacher or licensed to preach, not a graduate.

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

Householders, 18.

Communicants, 27.

That we lack the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

That our Bible is torn and out of order.

William Denne of Telmanstone doth withhold three shillings by the year from our parish.—(Vol. 1569.)

1572. That our church is become very ruinous, in the seats and pews thereof, in so much that unless your worship assist us with your authority therein, the same seats and places now ruinous will in short time mould and consume away, because we know not whether they should not be builded by the charge of every several man for his own seat, or otherwise by a general cess.—(Fol. 47; vol. 1572-4 *Acta Curiae*.)

1574. We, the churchwardens and sidesmen of Newington-next-Hythe, do present, that upon the eleventh day of July last past, being Sunday, Browne of River and two of his servants did play, as it may be termed "fydeled" there, in evening prayer [time], but who they were that danced we know not.—(Fol. 72.)

1575. We present that River church and the porch of the same have great need of tileing, and the churchyard of fencing.—(Fol. 145; vol. 1574-76.)

1579. Thomas Rendall of the parish of River, who hath certain lands in the parish of Northbourne, and thereabouts a tenement, which he hath let unto one John Kyett, between whom there hath been harboured a woman unmarried.—(Fol. 30; vol. 1577-83.)

1580. *See under* Badlesmere in vol. vii, p. 212.

1588. That the Register Book of christenings, marriages and burials, is not orderly kept.—(Fol. 60.)

1590. We present our chancel for that it doth lack repairing ever since Christmas, and is not as yet repaired and amended.—(Fol. 92.)

Laura Dobell, for standing excommunicate, and doth not seek to be absolved or released.—(Fol. 93; vol. 1585-92.)

1596. That the churchyard is unfenced, the church and

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

chancel unglazed; and that their Bible is rent and torn.—(Fol. 58; vol. 1585-92, part ii.)

1605. That we have service said usually on Sundays and Holy-days, but it is divers times said between eleven and twelve of the clock, which is somewhat too late, and likewise our service is not fully said as is prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

2. That our Minister doth seldom-times read service on Wednesdays and Fridays, not being Holy-days, neither doth he read the Litany and the Commination against sinners, when he doth say service on such days.

3. We know not whether our Minister be an allowed preacher or not, but we have demanded it of him, and he denieth to tell us, neither have we a sermon every Sunday.

4. We know not whether our Minister be an allowed preacher or not, but this we say, that he neither preacheth himself, nor procureth a sermon to be preached once every month at the least, neither readeth Homilies on that day wherein there is no preaching.

5. We say that our Minister hath two benefices, but doth not maintain a preacher in his other benefice, where he doth not reside, neither yet doth preach himself usually at ours; but whether he preacheth or no at the other parish we know not.

6. Our Minister catechises every Sunday and Holy-day.—(Fol. 63.)

That the Ten Commandments and Table of Degrees of Marriages forbidden are not set up and placed in the church, as they ought to be.

Also there is no Book of Homilies in the church, and that the church-porch is not well repaired.—(Fol. 65.)

1606. The steeple of our church, which is ruinous and fallen into decay; for the repairing of it we desire a day of your worship.—(Fol. 86.)

1607. One of our bells is cracked, and it raineth in at some places of our church, for which we desire a day to be repaired, and our bell to be recast.—(Fol. 99.)

We, the churchwardens, do present Richard Heniker of

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

Charlton, for that he refuseth to pay his cess towards the reparation of our church, being lawfully cessed, the sum is 22s. 2d.—(Fol. 129.)

1608. That Nicholas Lingham and his son did on the 23rd and 30th days of October last past, being Sundays, on both or one of them, go a hunting with his dog, to the offence of well disposed people.—(Fol. 150.)

Nicholas Hobday did travel with his waggon or carriage on All Saints' Day last past, in the time of Divine Service, to the offence of well and godly-disposed people.—(Fol. 154; vol. 1602-9.)

1634. Simon Stone, for not paying his cess to the reparation of our parish-church, he being cessed at 6s. 8d.—(Fol. 24.)

John Allen, for not paying his cess, likewise made for the reparation of our parish-church, he being cessed at 33s. 4d., whereof he hath paid 17s. and there remaineth unpaid 16s. 4d., which he refuseth to pay.

On November 18, when Allen appeared in Court, he confessed:—That he was cessed at so much, and that he hath paid 18s. towards it, and hath laid out some money concerning the church, being churchwarden, at the time of making the cess and now also, and did forbear to pay the rest till the other churchwarden make his account, though the churchwarden hath refused to present his account, he being his fellow-churchwarden; and also divers of the parishioners have complained to him about the other churchwarden, concerning his bad account, and not buying materials at the best rate; and that the other churchwarden's name is Baker.—(Fol. 25; vol. 1585-1636, part ii.)

On September 25, 1679, Paul Lukin, notary, appeared in Court and alleged:—That he is deputed, by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, collector of the tenths due within the Diocese of Canterbury to their Majesties at Christmas, 1678; and also of the arrears of the tenths then due and in arrears to the said Archbishopric. And the Vicar of River is in arrears for tenths for these years, 1661-70, 1674-8, and the church of River is now partly fallen down, and is unfit for the reading of Divine Service there till it be repaired; and therefore he prayed that the tithes belonging to the vicarage may be sequestrated to discharge these tenths due and in arrears,

SOME EAST KENT PARISH HISTORY.

that so the same may be cleared off against the church is repaired.¹—(Vol. 1675-98; fol. 50.)

[To be continued.]

KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOSPITAL, 1605.

BY W. PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.

THE following document is interesting both as a contribution to the history of Knightsbridge Hospital, and also as throwing a curious side-light on difficulties of the London water-supply.

Holy Trinity Church, Knightsbridge, enjoyed until recently the remarkable distinction of having a public-house on each side of it. It represents the chapel of the hospital which formerly stood on the spot, and its early history appears to be unknown. Lysons has a short account of it which runs as follows:

At the north side of the road, about a quarter of a mile from the turnpike [at Hyde Park Corner], and in the parish of St. George's, Hanover-square, stands a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which belonged formerly to an ancient lazar-house or hospital, held, as it appears, under the church of Westminster, at the rent of 4s. per annum, by the family of Glassington. Among the records belonging to the dean and chapter of Westminster, is a state of the lazar-house at Knightsbridge, as drawn up in the year 1595 by John Glassington, who was governor of the house, and by profession a surgeon. He states that there were no lands belonging to this hospital, nor a groat of endowment; that there *had* been a certain piece of land, which was then inclosed within Hyde-park, to the great detriment of the charity; that the building, when he became governor, was ready to fall, and that he had expended above 100*l.* on it; that there were commonly thirty-six or thirty-seven persons in the house, who were supported wholly by voluntary contributions; that the charge of the last year, in provisions only, exclusive of candles,

¹ In St. Margaret's Church, Canterbury, is a marble tablet, with Latin inscription, to Paul Lukin, who was Proctor in the Courts of the Archbishop and Archdeacon of Canterbury for fifty years, and Auditor of the Metropolitan church for twenty years. He married Clarissa, daughter of Martin Hirst, and died January 11, 1716, aged 72. His wife died November 20 of the same year, aged 58.—Parsons *Monuments of Kent*, p. 263.

KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOSPITAL, 1605.

linen, woollen, salves, medicines, burials, etc., had been 191*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* Mr. Glassington adds a list of fifty-five persons who had been cured by him, some of whom had been dismissed as incurable from other hospitals. An account of the regulations of the house is also subjoined, by which it appears that the patients attended prayers every morning and evening; and that on Sundays there was morning and evening service for the neighbours; that those who were able were obliged to work; that they dined every day on "warm meat and porrage"; and that every man had his own "dish, platter, and tankerd, to kepe the broken from the whole."

In 1605 the inhabitants of the Hospital requested permission to draw a supply of water from one of the adjoining springs in Hyde Park. Their petition to James I, as owner of the Park, runs as follows:

To the King's most Excellent Majestie

The humble petition of the Sick, Lame and Impotent poore people, in the Hospitall at Knights bridge.

Which, prostrate in all humilitie, beseech your Majestie to understand, that in the said hospitall are a great number of diseased poore people, which after that they have paste the handes of other phisicions and chirurgions for incureable, or at least, desperatelie diseased, are there cured to the number of fortie persons yearly at the least; notwithstanding that to the said howse belong not any landes, rentes, or other mayntenance, but what in charitie is dayly given by well disposed people. But forasmuch as in the said howse is great want of wholesom water, therewith to dresse the meat and to prepare such porcions as are requisite, and that in your Majestie's parke called Hide Parke, within one hundred and fortie paces of the said howse, is a springe of verie good water, which in a little pipe of ledd, with smaule charge may be easely brought to the said howse; the said poore people, presumeinge on the infinite bountie your Majestie, since the happie cominge thereof to this crowne, hath extended to all sortes of people, and hopeinge the same will likewise commiserate their destresse, most humbly entreat, and for God's cause, begg of your Majestie to be pleased in almes to commaund the said water, in such manner as aforesaid, to be conveyed to the said howse, and not onely those which be therein at this present, dureinge their lyves, but also all such others as hereafter shall succeed them, shall rest bounden continuallie to pray to God for the perpetuall happie raigne of your Majestie, your issue, and heires, over us and our posterity untill the worlde's ende.

KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOSPITAL, 1605.

At the Court of Greenwich
the xxjth of Aprill, 1605.

The kinge's Majestie is well pleased that Sir Thomas Knevet, and Sir Walter Cope, knighte, shall consyder of this petition, and certifie the conveniency of the sute, And what chardge the same may come unto.

JUL: CÆSAR.

Upon the report of William Gowney, plumber, that the cost would be 35*l.* or thereabouts, the petition is granted, 27 June, 1605, together with 35*l.* requisite for the work, to be paid out of his Highnes' Mynte by Sir Thomas Knevett, knight, Warden of the same.

JUL: CÆSAR.¹

It is satisfactory to learn that the "diseased poore people" got their water-supply, and that their trust in King James's "infinite bountie" was fully justified.

The late Mr. W. L. Rutton, F.S.A., in his valuable account of "The Making of the Serpentine,"² has a good deal to say about the springs in Hyde Park, but does not mention the Knightsbridge Hospital. The reproduction of part of Roque's map of 1746 [facing p. 183] shows the chapel not far from the outfall of the Serpentine.

For the later history of the Hospital and Chapel we must again have recourse to Lysons. In 1629 the inhabitants of Knightsbridge petitioned the Bishop of London for leave to rebuild the Chapel, which was very old and ruinous. The Bishop, with the consent of the Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Martin's (the parish of St. George's was not made until later) granted a licence, and that the inhabitants might attend service there, reserving all rights of the mother-church. The Chapel was rebuilt accordingly, but as there was no endowment, the only source of income was the pew-rents. In 1650, Henry Walker, the then chaplain, received £10 a year, which was increased later to £40. The Chapel was again rebuilt in 1699, and re-fronted in 1789. The patronage appears to have belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

¹ Court of Requests, uncalendared, bundle 39, part 3. I am indebted to Miss Ethel Stokes for this document.

² *H.C.M.*, vol. 5, pp. 81, 183.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

UNPUBLISHED MSS. relating to the Home Counties in the Collection of P. C. Rushen.

1673, April 14.—Draft covenant between George Norbury of Chesham, Bucks, esq., and John Norbury, gent., his son and heir by Mary his late wife, deceased, daughter and heir of William Claxton, late Citizen and Draper of London, deceased, of the first part; Richard Price of London, gent., of the 2nd part; and Henry Harris of London, gent., of the 3rd part. Whereby Price was to be made tenant of the freehold, and permit Harris to sue out a common recovery of an inn called the Windmill on the east side of Shoe Lane, in the parish of St. Andrew's, once occupied by Giles Long, then by John Evans, innholder; also messuages lying behind and near adjoining the said inn, then occupied by John Throughton, esq., David Watkins, Anne Jackson, widow, James Williams, Charles Lang. . . , William Davids and Richard Money; to the intent of docking estates tail, and to the use of said John Norbury.

1673-4, January 20.—Draft covenant to levy a fine by Nicholas Cooke of East Greenwich, Kent, son and heir of Nicholas Cooke late of the same, esq., deceased, and Thomas Fox, Citizen and Weaver of London, to John Richards, Citizen and Turner of London, and William Towne of London, scrivener of a messuage then lately erected by Fox upon a toft on the west side of St. Clement's Lane, in the parish of St. Edmond in Lombard St., London, whereon there lately stood 2 houses, once severally occupied by John Harris, draper, and John Lord and William Lord, later occupied by Griffin Freeman and John Lord, and extending back to land of William Whitmore, esq., and adjoining on the south to a tenement belonging to the feoffees of the parish of St. Edmond, once occupied by William Devonshire, taylor, and on the north to a messuage or ground belonging to the said Whitmore; To the use of Richards and Towne.

1694, June 1.—Draft covenant to levy a fine by Robert Gavell of Cobham, Surrey, to Richard Bures of the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, gent., and John Grant of Ebisham alias Epsham, Surrey, joiner, of the manor of Cobham alias Coveham in the same county; also a capital messuage and 350 acres of land used with the said messuage, in Cobham alias Coveham, occupied by Robert Porter junior, before by Edward Antill, deceased; also another messuage and lands of 45 acres belonging to the said messuage called Chilbrooke, in Cobham, occupied by Oliver Holloway; also other lands, called Hurst Lands, containing 25 acres, in Cobham, occupied by the said Holloway; also other lands, called Cole Norton, containing 20 acres, in Cobham, occupied by Henry Cobbett; also other lands, called An Yards, containing 15 acres, in Cobham, occupied by Francis Holmes; also a messuage and a close of 1 acre adjoining, called the Fairhouse, in Cobham, occupied by Moses Freeland; also a messuage and a mill house, etc., called Cobham Mills, and 8 acres of land used with the same, in Cobham, occupied by Nicholas Bagin, before by Thomas Morrison, deceased; To the use of Gavell and his heirs.

LONDON'S HISTORIC HOUSES.—In connection with the London County Council's work of indicating the houses in London which have been the residences of distinguished individuals, tablets have been recently affixed to No. 8, Canonbury Square, Islington, where Samuel Phelps lived from about 1846 to 1867, and to No. 28, Newman Street, Oxford Street, W., to commemorate the residence of Thomas Stothard, R.A., who lived there from 1794 until his death in 1834.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ROYAL STATUES.—Last year *The Home Counties Magazine* contained a series of articles on the open-air statues of London. I shall be grateful for any other information about London's royal statues (interior and exterior), including busts.—JOHN ARDAGH, 40, Richmond Road, Drumcondra, Dublin.

LONDON'S VANISHING LANDMARKS.—The news of the approaching demolition of the well-known "Swiss Cottage" at the top of Upper Avenue Road, South Hampstead, will be received with regret by many. For the tavern has contrived to preserve an almost rustic appearance, quite distinct from the ordinary public-house. There can be no doubt that with the departure of the horse-omnibus from this neighbourhood much of the glory of the "Swiss Cottage" has also disappeared. Time was when its yard was made lively enough with the familiar green "Atlas" conveyances, now supplanted by the huge and jerky motor. It is sad to think that the name of this picturesque old place will soon have to be added to the long list of extinct landmarks of London. We can ill afford to lose so established a favourite. Soon we shall be wondering to what purpose the site is to be turned. The local Press tells us that certain "specified portions" are to be "dedicated to the public without reserve," presumably for street improvement. Anyway, let us hope the remainder will not be utilized for the erection of "flats" or "mansions" at a point associated with so many pleasant memories in the minds of old inside and outside "Cottagers."—CECIL CLARKE, Hampstead.

REVIEWS.

OUT OF THE IVORY PALACES, by P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A., etc. Mills and Boon; pp. xi, 308; 6s. net.

With our mind full of the delight with which we read *The Parson's Pleasance*, we are frankly disappointed in the author's latest production. Its fantastic title, the consequent straining of the chapter headings, the scratch lot of illustrations, the very mixed quality of the articles, some old, some painfully and untidily new—these do not bespeak the careful and erudite writer whose works we know and love. As an example of the chapter headings we may instance that of "Prehistoric Palaces," in which we are treated to a bald and elementary account of flint implements, with directions how to produce an imitation patina if we wish to forge such things. Under the heading of "Palaces of Refuge and Pain," we find a section called "Caged in France," wherein there is a blood-curdling account of some of the horrors of the French Revolution, and some remarks about the Dreyfus case which are quite out of place. The episcopal palaces of Lambeth, Bishopthorpe, Fulham, and Norwich, are dragged in apparently to fill up the necessary quota of pages, and of the former we are told the epoch-making fact that Mr. Ditchfield once took tea there with Archbishop Benson. Some of the slips speak eloquently of careless editing—Fouquier-Tinville is divided and made into two persons; Domesday "bordars," i.e. cottagers, are called "borderers," thus ante-dating the Scotch influx; the arms of Ball "consisted of

REVIEWS.

a lion rampant and a lion's paws holding aloft a ball"; and so on. There are also two "howlers," each of which is worthy of Smith Minor in his happiest mood. The National Gallery occupies the site of the King's Mews; "the locality derived its name from the place where the King's hawks were kept; 'mewing' was the sound the keepers made when they wished to attract a hawk to its perch"! Prodigious!! The other is a gem of purest ray serene. "In our parish chest (we read) there is an ancient battered register bound in parchment, which is one of the oldest in England, inasmuch as it dates back to the year 1538, when Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued his first order that registers of births, deaths and marriages should be kept in every parish"! On further consideration of this remarkable statement we feel that we have done Smith Minor an injustice for which we apologize.

Having now dealt faithfully with Mr. Ditchfield, cruel only to be kind, we turn to the pleasanter side of a reviewer's task. Many of these papers are worthy of a place in *The Parson's Pleasance*, and that is high praise. The first two chapters, "The Palace of Home," and "The Family Deed Chest" are excellent, with all the author's usual freshness and grace of style. The adventures of Queen Mary's royal messenger are quite entertaining, and the contemporary account of the earthquake at Lisbon in 1755 gives an extraordinarily vivid account of that terrible catastrophe. The sections on "Sanctuary" and "Lepers in England" are full of interest and information. In "The Poets and the Spanish Armada" we have selections from the vigorous ballads of the day, now almost forgotten and well worth reprinting. "The Enemy in the Gates" deals with the possibility of the invasion of England and the horrors that would ensue, the moral being that the Navy must be kept up at all cost.

LONDON HOUSES FROM 1660 TO 1820, a consideration of their Architecture and Detail, by A. E. Richardson and C. Lovett Gill; illustrated by drawings and photographs specially taken. Batsford; pp. x, 87; 15s. net.

The object of the authors of this work is, in their own words, "to describe the developments of the minor Town House and the fashionable Square or Street, from the time of the Restoration of the Monarchy down to the brilliant period of the Regency, after which epoch the design of the Town House loses much of its charm, and the formal aspect of the Square was changed by landscape gardeners." The larger mansions, such as Marlborough, Lansdowne, Devonshire, and York Houses, are omitted as outside the scope of the work, and one result of this is that we get views of a large number of the smaller and less pretentious houses, many of which have not previously been illustrated in any form. The number and beauty of these is amazing; even the authors confess their surprise at finding such a wonderful array of beautiful houses and original detail, while to the average reader it will prove a revelation. It is only of late years that the artistic merits of the architecture of this period has been re-discovered; under the mock-heroics of the Gothic Revival it was the fashion to decry the later developments of the Renaissance. One possible reason for this is well put by the authors: "Externally the houses of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in London present to the critical observer a beauty of proportion so subtle and refined as to be at a first glance almost unapparent." It will not be the fault of the authors if it remain so in the future. The introductory and historical matter is clear and concise, and not too technical to be easily followed by the general reader. The illustrations, mostly from photographs by Mr. Walsham, are well selected and representative; incidentally they form a valuable record of buildings that are always liable to be destroyed or modernized. In addition to these there are several useful reproductions of eighteenth century views of some of the more important squares. The work should prove equally acceptable to the architectural student and the lover of London topography.

REVIEWS.

CHANGES OF A CENTURY, by J. C. Wright. Elliot Stock; pp. 268.

This is "a kind of sequel" to the author's previous work, *In the Good Old Times*, and its scope and object are sufficiently indicated in the title. We read of the changes in means and methods of travel, in cookery and housekeeping, in table manners and customs, in quack remedies, in agriculture and rural labour, in literature and journalism, in our treatment of children, etc.; it will be seen that the book covers a very wide field. In such a work everything depends upon the method of treatment, and Mr. Wright must be congratulated upon the result; he is chatty and friendly where the subject admits of it, but he can strike a deeper note at times, and does so just in the right places and with admirable judgement. A capital index will add to its value as a reference book.

INDICATIONS OF HOUSES OF HISTORICAL INTEREST IN LONDON;
parts 32, 33, and 34. London County Council; 1*d.* each.

These booklets, recording the placing of commemorative tablets on London houses, have developed into most useful miniature biographies. The present series deals with tablets recording the residences of the following distinguished persons: the first Earl Russell, better known as Lord John Russell, at 37, Chesham Place; Field-Marshal Lord Raglan, the hero of Alma and Inkerman, at 5, Great Stanhope Street; George Henry Borrow, author of *The Bible in Spain*, etc., at 22, Hereford Square, Brompton; Charles Dickens, at 13, Johnson Street, Somers Town, where the novelist lived for some years in his boyhood; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Morris, and Sir Edward Burne-Jones, at 17, Red Lion Square, where Rossetti lived in 1851 and Morris and Burne-Jones from 1856 to 1859.

GENERAL INDEX

Names of contributors are printed in italics

A

Adams, John Goldsworthy, 76.
Aquila, The Honour of, 146.
Ardagh, John, 320.

B

Baildon, W. Paley, 316.
 Bear-Gardens, Southwark, 77.
 Benfleet (North) Church, Essex,
 185.
 Berkhamstead, Little, 63.
Biden, L. M., 240-1.

C

Canonbury Tower, 302.
 Chalfont St. Giles and Milton, 284.
Chandler, E. A., 146, 186.
 Chandler, Rev. John, Diary of, 188.
 Chenies and Latimers, 232.
 Cheriton Church, Kent, 81, 209.
 Chichester, Reading to, 41.
 Childhood, A Bygone, 177, 263.
 Clinton, Lord, Dyer *v.*, 63.
Clarke, Cecil, 320.
 Cornell, surname, 75.
 Cramp-rings, The Hallowing of,
 152.

D

Daniel, H. J., 41.
 Day family, 161.
 Deadman's Place Burial Ground,
 76.
 Dene-holes, 49.
 Dover, The Priory of SS. Mary and
 Martin, 245.
Draper, Francis, 142.
 Dyer *v.* Lord Clinton, 63.

E

Eastern Counties, Witchcraft in, 22,
 100.
 Essex, South, Early Churches of,
 56, 182, 298.
 Essex Visitations in 1297, 254.

F

Fire Brigade, London, Historical
 Survey of, 198, 289.
Forbes, C. W., 56, 182, 298.

G

Geffery, Sir Robert, Statue of, 78.
 Gravesend in Roman Times, 134.

H

Halley, Edmond, 240.
 Hawkwell, Church, Essex, 183.
Hersey, C. J., 242.
 Hersey Farm, Hillingdon, 242.
Hill, T. W., 243.
 Home Counties, Rural Conditions
 of, *temp.* Edward III, 205.
 Home Counties, Unpublished MSS.,
 159, 238, 319.
 Horsham, Sussex, Field Place, 38.
 Hougham, Kent, 9.

J

Johnson, J. H., 79.
Johnston, C. E., 63.

K

Kent, East, Parish History, 9, 193,
 309.
 Knightsbridge Hospital, 316.

L

Lamp-lands, 241.
 Lane, Michael, Diary of, 177, 263.
 Latimers, Chenies and, 232.
Legge, W. Heneage, 205.
 London:
 Bishops of, Presentments against,
 229.
 Button's Coffee-house, 91.
 Chapter Coffee-house, 94.
 Coffee-houses, 1, 91.
 Dick's Coffee-house, 99.
 Fire Brigade, 198, 289.
 Fires, Historic, 289.
 Haymarket, 165, 268.
 Historic Houses, 242, 319, 322.
 Ironmongers' Almshouses, 78.
 Lloyd's Coffee-house, 95.
 Mitre Coffee-house, 99.
 Open-air Statues, 78, 142, 161,
 243.
 Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 142.
 Rolls Passage, 79.
 Royal Statues, 320.

INDEX.

London—*continued*.

- St. James's Coffee-house, 2.
- St. Martin's, Ludgate, Records of, 128, 222.
- Tom's Coffee-house, 97.
- White's Coffee-house, 3.
- Will's Coffee-house, 7.

Lydden, Kent, 4.

M

- MacMichael, J. Holden*, 165, 268.
- MacPike, Eugene F.*, 76, 162, 240-1.
- MSS., Unpublished, of the Home Counties, 159, 238.
- Marden, Kent, 70.
- Marson, Clotilda*, 254.
- Milton, Chalfont St. Giles and, 284.
- Missenden, Great and Little, Bucks, 17.
- More, Sir Thomas, statue of, 161.

N

- Nevendon Church, Essex, 301.
- Nicholls, Cornelius*, 152.
- Nonae Rolls, 205.
- Norman, Philip*, 78.
- Northmen in the Thames, 217.
- Notes and Queries, 75, 159, 238, 319.

O

- O'Neil, Charles V.*, 29, 117.

P

- Peake family, 76.
- Philip, Alexander J.*, 46, 134, 217.
- Phillips, C. M.*, 79, 161.
- Plimsoll, Samuel, 81, 209.
- Plomer, Henry R.*, 128, 222.
- Powell, W. H. Wadham*, 232.
- Preece, George*, 161.
- Prittlewell Church, Essex, 242.
- Pyke family, 161.

Q

- Queen Charlotte, Statue of, 142.

R

- Randolph, John A.*, 280.
- Rawreth Church, Essex, 298.
- Rayleigh Church, Essex, 59.
- Reading to Chichester, 41.
- Replies, 77, 242.
- Reviews, 79, 162, 243, 320.
- River Church, Kent, 312.

Rochford Church and Hall, Essex, 56, 58.

Runwell Church, Essex, 298.

Rushen, P. C., 159, 238, 319.

Rushen Collection of MSS., 242.

Rutton, W. L., 81, 209.

„ obituary notice of, 75.

S

- St. Margaret's Church, Kent, 193.
- Sandwich, Peter de*, 9, 193, 309.
- Scatcherd, Rev. —, 242.
- Shelley, Birthplace of, 38.
- Sieveling, I. Giberne*, 16, 284.
- Southwark, Bear Gardens, 77.
- Stambridge (Great) Church, Essex, 182.
- Star Chamber Cases, No. X, 70.
- Stoke Mandeville, Bucks, 20.
- Stoke Newington, parish register, 161.
- Stokes, Ethel*, 229.
- Strand-on-the-Green, Middlesex, 109.
- Surrey Roads, Old, 29, 117.
- Surrey Village Churches, 280.
- Swiss Cottage, 320.

T

- Tavenor-Perry, J.*, 109, 245.
- Thames, Northmen in the, 217.
- Thames, Prehistoric Civilization of the Banks of the, 46.
- Thomas, C. Edgar*, 1, 91, 302.
- Thursley Church, Surrey, 189.
- Turner family, 76.
- Tyler, Francis Edwin*, 198, 289.

V

- Vaughan, E.*, 22, 100, 177, 263.

W

- Wendover, Bucks, 16.
- West Cliff Church, Kent, 309.
- Wickford Church, Essex, 184.
- Witchcraft in the Eastern Counties, 22, 100.
- Witley, Surrey, 186.
- Witley Church, 188.
- Wix or Wykes, Essex, 243.
- Woollen, Burial in, 19.
- Wright, J. C.*, 38.

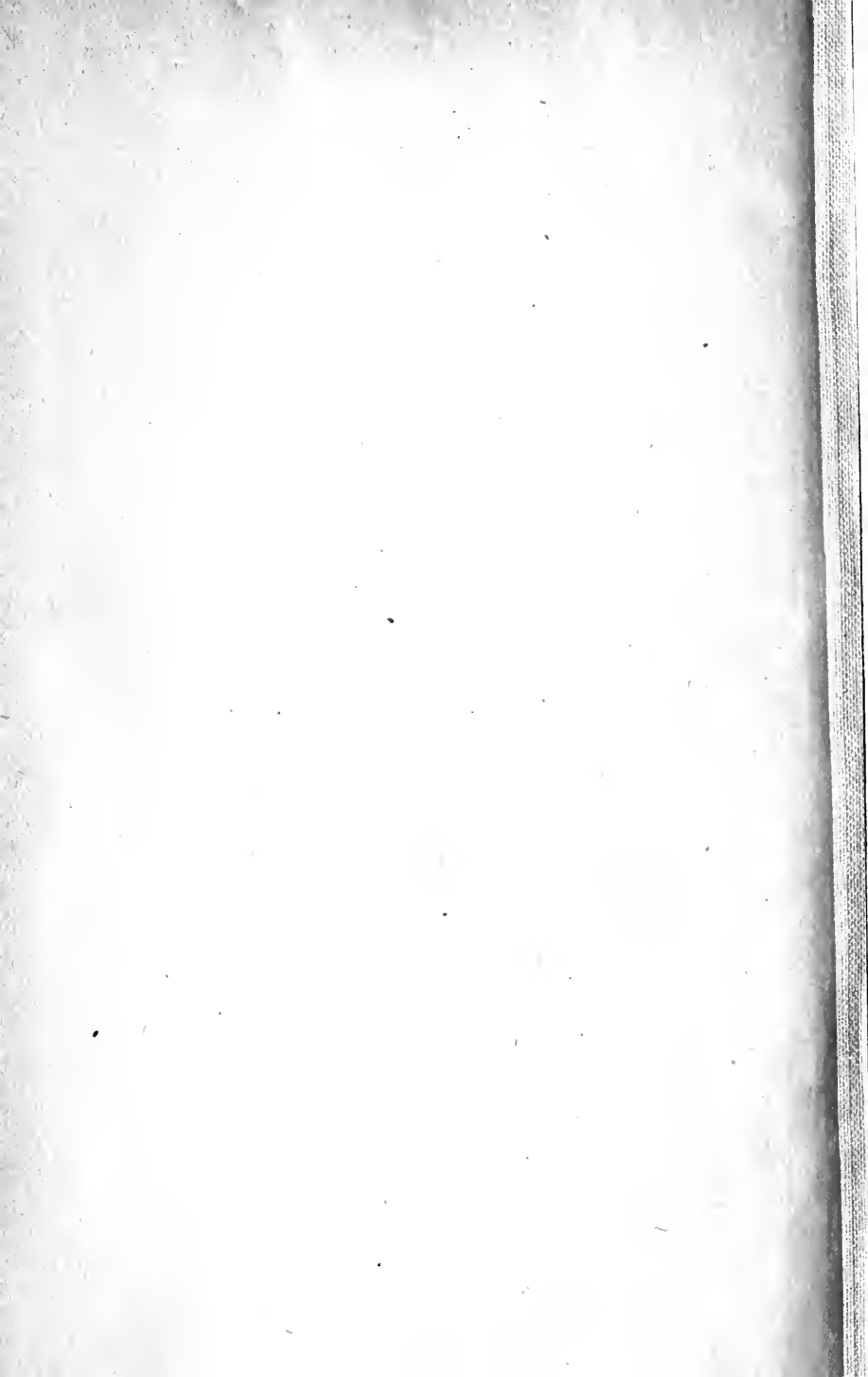


LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Canonbury Tower -	245
„ Doorway -	304
Chenies Manor House -	165, 232, 236
Cheriton Church -	81, 88
„ Plimsoll's Grave -	210
Dover, St. Martin's Priory, plan -	246
Field Place, Horsham -	1, 40
Gravesend, Flint implements -	46
„ Pick-holes -	48, 50
„ Stag-horn picks -	52
„ Romano-British pottery -	136
Great Stambbridge Church -	182
Hascomb Church -	282
Hawkwell Church -	182
Kent, Map of Romano-British -	134
London, Haymarket, Old Opera House -	268
„ Old and New Theatres -	276
„ Queen Square, Bloomsbury, Statue of Queen Charlotte -	144
„ St. Martin's Church, Ludgate -	128, 130, 132
Long Ditton Church -	280
Nevendon Church -	302
North Benfleet Church and Font -	184
Rawreth Church -	298
Rayleigh Church -	60
Rochford Church -	56
„ Hall -	58
Runwell Church -	298
„ Porches -	300
„ Font -	302
Stoke d'Abernon Church -	284
Strand-on-the-Green -	108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 118
Thursley Church -	190
Walton-on-the-Hill Church -	280
Weybridge Church -	282
Wisley Church -	284
Witley, Old Houses -	186
„ Church -	188







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